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ABSTRACT

This study investigates the attitudes of white seniors toward black Americans in three suburban high schools varying in terms of the possible interaction between black and white students as reflected in each school's racial composition, grouping procedures, and curricular options. The study compared the attitudes of high school seniors in an all white high school with those of seniors in two racially mixed high schools. It was hoped that the study would provide some insights about the effect of intergroup contact on attitudes. However, the study also examined the implications of findings which maintain that contact alone may not break down the stereotypes between the two groups if the contact occurs in situations where status distinctions are maintained. The study thus make a distinction between an integrated setting which seeks to facilitate the positive interaction of a racially mixed student body, and a desegregated setting which does not foster interaction. The racial attitudes of the high school seniors were determined through written responses to a questionnaire of belief statements. Much of the data described situational characteristics within each high school which could be affecting student attitudes. These included school philosophy, grouping procedures, classroom racial balance, staff racial balance, curricular and library offerings related to the black experience, and patterns of student interaction in the two racially mixed settings. The writer obtained these data through interviews and observations. (Author/JM)

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A DESCRIPTION AND COMPARISON OF THE ATTITUDES OF WHITE HIGH SCHOOL SENIORS TOWARD BLACK AMERICANS IN THREE SUBURBAN HIGH SCHOOLS: AN ALL WHITE, A DESEGREGATED, AND AN INTEGRATED HIGH SCHOOL

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Date________________________

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M.A.L.

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CHAPTER I

DESCRIPTION OF THE STUDY

Statement of the Problem

In contemporary America, the Black American's quest for equality has been slow and agonizing. The racial struggles of the 1960's and the tensions that marked the opening of a new decade bore witness to the chasms separating the realities of Black and White existence. Increased opportunities for Blacks, and new levels of awareness on the part of Whites were hopeful signals. Too often, however, suspicion, frustration, violence, and tragedy grew from the painful tests of freedom and equality, and Americans were forced to acknowledge the pressures of racial strife.

The piecemeal dismantling of the racist status quo in American life has yet to dissolve the barriers that separate Whites and Blacks. Sanctioned by society, these barriers propagate the American racial dilemma, and feed the myth of Black inferiority. Paramount among these barriers are the negative racial attitudes and stereotypes that have stigmatized Black Americans for generations. The roots of such attitudes and stereotypes have been nourished in the soils of fear, social mores, aggression, power, economic exploitation, sexual conflict and numerous other conditions. Indeed, the primary lesson of Gordon Allport's classic and comprehensive study of the nature and origin of prejudice is its plural causation.[1]

As conditions have altered from generation to generation, the beliefs which move men have changed. In emphasizing the sociological determination of attitudes, Asch pointed out their importance for the mutual dependence characteristic in any group process.

> To be in society is to form views of social facts and relatively enduring concerns toward them. By means of these psychological operations we participate in the social process; they make possible the coherent interlocking of action between individuals and between groups; they define our position as members of the social body. Their stability and change seem closely connected with the stability and change of the social order.[2]

Allport has stated that "one of the frequent sources, perhaps the most frequent source, of prejudice lies in the needs and habits that reflect the influence of in-group memberships upon the development of the individual personality."[3]

Thus, the pull of social conditions is significant for the formation and modification of attitudes. For the individual, his beliefs reflect either an endorsement of his group or an expression of conflict with it. Today, a White

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[1] Gordon Allport, The Nature of Prejudice (Garden City: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1958).

[2] Solomon E. Asch, Social Psycholcoy (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1967), p. 522.

[3] Allport, op. cit., p. 39.

American's ideas about Blacks can either reflect or plunge him into conflict with those who people his social world. An investigation of attitudes thus brings us to the heart of social relations.

The problem to which this study is addressed is: what are the attitudes of White seniors toward Black Americans in three suburban high schools, varying in terms of the possible interaction between Black and White students as reflected in each school's racial composition, grouping procedures, and curricular options.

Purposes of the Study

The purposes of this study are:

1. to measure the attitudes of White high school seniors toward Black Americans in three school districts: an all White, an integrated, and a desegregated district
2. to examine the attitudes of the Black high school seniors toward Whites in the two racially mixed schools as a factor which might be influencing White students' attitudes
3. to examine curricular and library offerings related to the Black experience in the all White setting which might influence attitudes
4. to examine such factors as total student and staff racial composition, classroom racial composition, grouping procedures, curricula, library offerings, school philosophies, and patterns of interaction in the two racially mixed schools which might influence attitudes
5. to determine the range of positive and negative attitudes (degree of favorableness and unfavorableness toward Blacks or Whites) within each high school

6. to compare the range of positive and negative attitudes among the three high schools
7. to analyze and compare student responses within each high school to specific items on the questionnaire
8. to analyze and compare student responses among the three schools to specific items on the questionnaire
9. to analyze patterns of responses within each school

Definitions

The statements below indicate the meaning that will be given to the following terms in this study.

Attitude, a learned predisposition to respond to an object or class of objects in a consistently favorable or unfavorable way

Belief, an hypothesis concerning the nature of an object, its relation to other objects, and the types of action that should be taken with respect to it

Attitude Measurement, assessing an individual's responses to a set of belief statements

Item, a belief statement that evokes a response together with a specified set of response categories

Questionnaire, a collection of items

Scale Score, an index of the respondent's attitude which is derived from the sum of the response values for each item

Desegregated High School, a school with a racially mixed student body, but which is not characterized by a philosophy, grouping procedures, or curricular options which seek to facilitate the positive interaction of students from different racial and ethnic backgrounds

Integrated High School, a school which seeks to facilitate the positive interaction of a racially mixed student body through its philosophy, grouping procedures, and curricular options

Theoretical Framework

The definitions of attitude and belief used in this study reflect Fishbein's theory of attitude organization and change based on the relationships between beliefs about an object and the attitude toward that object.[1] Distinguishing between belief and attitude, this theory identifies attitude as the evaluative or affective dimension of a concept, and belief as "the probability or improbability that a particular relationship exists between the object of belief and some other object, concept, value, or goal."[2] Thus, belief is a measure of the probability dimension of a concept, and reflects the cognitions individuals hold in regard to an object.

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[1] Martin Fishbein, "A Consideration of Beliefs, and Their Role in Attitude Measurement," Readings in Attitude Theory and Measurement, ed. Martin Fishbein (John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1967), pp. 257-266.

[2] Ibid., p. 259.

Fishbein's definition is consistent with that of Osgood, Suci, and Tannenbaum in which attitude is described as a mediating evaluative response associated with any stimulus, and also reflects Thurstone's relatively simple unidimensional view of attitude as "the amount of affect for or against a psychological object."[1] The precision and differentiation of Fishbein's definitions thus suggest earlier unidimensional conceptions which embrace affective (evaluative) cognitive, and conative (action) components. Fishbein has pointed out that multidimensional conceptions have been extremely difficult to employ in rigorous theory, and have created almost unmanageable problems when theory is translated into research. He states: "A conceptual system in which only the affective component is treated as attitudinal and the other two components are linked to beliefs, should permit a more productive approach to the study of attitudes."[2] Such a system indicated the very real fact that affect, cognition, and action are not always highly correlated. While two people may have similar attitudes toward an issue, their specific beliefs (cognitions) may differ radically. Thus, while two people may have the same degree of affect toward an object, the substance of their beliefs and behavioral intentions toward that object may differ.

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[1] L. I. Thurstone, "The Measurement of Social Attitudes," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 26:259, 1931.

[2] Fishbein, op. cit., p. 257.

The unidimenstional view of attitude does not imply that cognition and conation are ignored. Rather, they are considered as aspects of belief. Certain beliefs about an object comprise cognitive components, while other types comprise the conative and refer to the behavioral intentions held by an individual toward an object. The following two statements respectively indicate the two types of belief: Italians are musical. Italians should be respected.

Essentially, Fishbein's theory leads to the prediction that an individual's attitude toward any object is a function of his beliefs about the object and the evaluative aspects of those beliefs. He states: "While each belief suggests an attitude, the attitude per se can only be reliably abstracted by considering the many beliefs an individual holds."[1] Cognitions and behavioral intentions are viewed as determinants or consequents of attitude. The attitude is the mediating evaluative construct with antecedents leading to it and consequents from it.

Most standardized instruments for measuring attitudes do derive a score from a consideration of a subject's beliefs and the evaluative aspects of those beliefs.

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[1] Ibid.

Fishbein's theory predicts that the attitude is a function of the algebraic sum of the evaluative aspects of the beliefs. Attitude organization is thus viewed as a process of cognitive summation. This view differs from the consistency theories of Osgood and Tannenbaum[1] and Heider[2] in which attitude organization and change is a process of cognitive balance. In these theories, a mean of the affect associated with each of the beliefs about the object represents the individual's attitude.

This theoretical difference has implications for the type of scale used. Although similar, Thurstone and Likert scaling methods reflect fundamentally different theoretical conceptions of attitude. From the point of view of Thurstone scaling, the process of attitude organization is one of cognitive averaging or cognitive balance, and thus reflects the conceptions of the consistency theories. On the other hand, Likert scaling is consistent with Fishbein's theory as it reflects a view of attitude organization as a process of cognitive summation. The response to each belief statement is given a score from one to five, and the sum of the values is taken as the index of the respondent's attitude. In this study, Likert scaling will be used to measure: (1) the affect associated with White students' responses to belief statements reflecting cognitions about and behavioral intentions toward Black Americans; (2) the affect associated with Black students' responses to belief statements reflecting cognitions about and behavioral intentions toward Whites.

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[1] C. E. Osgood et. al., The Measurement of Meaning (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1967).

[2] F. Heider, The Psychology of Interpersonal Relations (New York: Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1958).

Limitations of the Study

This study is limited in that:

1. the findings will not be generalized to other populations
2. the effect of such variables as family background and religion on the respondents' beliefs will not be considered
3. the findings will not be interpreted to predict respondent's actual behavior which, as pointed out by behavior theory, is a function of many variables of which attitudes toward an object is only one
4. although such factors as student and staff racial composition, social climate, grouping procedures, curricula, staff perceptions, and school philosophies will be described, there will be no attempt to directly relate these variables to student responses to the questionnaire

Design of the Study

The Questionnaire

The instrument which is used in this study is a questionnaire of one hundred items, twenty-nine of which are used to measure White students' attitudes toward Blacks, and twenty-two of which are used to measure Black students' attitudes toward Whites. It was possible to use two items, item nineteen and item forty-two, in both scales. Therefore, a total of forty-nine items on the questionnaire are related to racial attitudes. The questionnaire can be found in Appendix A, page 233.

An effort was made to have some balance between positive and negative items. Of the fifty items related to racial attitudes, thirty are negative and twenty are positive. Because of the negative nature of stereotyping and discriminatory attitudes, it was more difficult to effectively phrase items in a positive vein. The items consist of belief statements with a specified set of response categories which serve as indices of students' favorable or unfavorable attitudes. The other fifty items on the questionnaire served to offset the focus on race, but are not used as part of the data.

Development of the Questionnaire

In developing the instrument used in this study, the writer looked at several attitudinal scales which had been used to measure attitudes toward both Blacks and Whites in the past. Although none of them seemed appropriate for this study, the writer gained a sense of the kinds of items which might be used. Working from this basis, the writer, with the help of both Black and White colleagues, developed items for the two scales represented in the questionnaire. Additional items used in the questionnaire were also developed by referring to scales measuring attitudes on a number of social issues, and by collaborating with colleagues.

The advice of Professor Elizabeth P. Hagen of the Psychology Department at Teachers College was most helpful in the final wording of the items and in procedures which would validate the writer's assumption that items actually would be judged as favorable or unfavorable toward Blacks or Whites. Following her instructions, the writer had forty independent judges, members of Professor Marcella R. Lawler's classes in the Department of Curriculum and Teaching, judge the degree of favorability or unfavorability of each item on the scale measuring attitudes toward Blacks on the following seven point continuum.

Extremely Favorable			Neutral			Extremely Unfavorable
7	6	5	4	3	2	1

The form which was used to obtain favorability ratings is included in Appendix B, page 245. Of the items included in this initial pool, the following were omitted because of a lack of agreement as to their degree of favorability or unfavorability toward Blacks: (1) White unions prevent many Blacks from getting good jobs; (2) Employers should be allowed to hire whomever they please; (3) Qualified Blacks have had as much chance as qualified Whites to get jobs.

Thirty-five teachers and graduate students judged the degree of favorability of items on the scale measuring attitudes toward Whites. The form which was used to obtain the favorability ratings for this scale is also included in Appendix B, page 245. One item had to be eliminated from this scale because of a lack of agreement as to the degree of favorability toward Blacks: Blacks and Whites are treated equally by White law officers.

Before proceeding further, the writer discussed her study and the procedures for developing the instrument with Professor Peter Gumpert of the Psychology Department at Teachers College. He approved of the steps which had been taken and offered some helpful suggestions. The writer had intended to utilize two questionnaires in the study: one which would be filled out by White students and which would contain the scale measuring attitudes toward Blacks; and one which would be filled out by Black students and would contain the scale measuring attitudes toward Whites. Professor Gumpert said that the use of two questionnaires would be inappropriate, and that both scales should be included in one questionnaire. This advice was followed.

Pretesting the Questionnaire

A one hundred and ten item questionnaire was constructed with twenty-four items related to attitudes toward Whites and thirty-five items related to attitudes toward Blacks. (Two items were used in both scales). The questionnaire was pretested with one hundred and one high school students in an all White high school on October 8, 1971. It was pretested with forty Black students in a racially mixed suburban high school on October 20, 1971.

In order to obtain items within each scale which would have the same attitudinal meaning, item analysis was used to determine the items which had the highest power of discrimination between favorable and unfavorable attitudes. Of the pretest population, the twenty-five percent having the highest total scores, and the twenty-five percent having the lowest total scores were used as criterion groups in terms of which individual items were analyzed. For each item the mean score for the twenty-five percent having the highest scores, and the mean score for the twenty-five percent having the lowest scores were determined. Items were selected for the final questionnaire which showed a discrimination of at least 2.00 between the mean scores for the high and low groups.

Results of Rating and Pretest Procedures

The following are the results of the pretesting analysis for both scales as well as the degree of favorability each item had been given by the independent judges. Six items were dropped from the following scale measuring attitudes toward Blacks, items one through six. One item was dropped from the scale measuring attitudes toward Whites, item number one. The items dropped did not show a discrimination of at least 2.00 between the mean scores of the high and low groups.

SCALE FOR MEASURING ATTITUDES TOWARD BLACKS

Degree of Favorability Mean Rating		Item	Mean for 25% Highest	Mean for 25% Lowest	Variance
1.	5.7	White real estate agents prevent many Blacks from living in better neighborhoods	4.10	3.32	.78
2.	6.4	If a Black man were the better candidate for a political office, I would vote for him	4.72	3.24	1.48
3.	1.3	If I were in charge of hiring people, I would hire Whites over Blacks	4.41	2.80	1.61
4.	6.7	The law should be used against employers who discriminate against Blacks	4.57	2.96	1.61
5.	6.4	Blacks should be allowed to live where they please	4.81	3.40	1.41
6.	5.9	Blacks have limited opportunities to get ahead in this country	4.39	2.76	1.63
7.	1.4	In this country, Blacks are generally worse off than Whites because they lack the ability to get ahead	4.45	2.28	2.17

	Degree of Favorability Mean Rating	Item	Mean for 25% Highest	Mean for 25% Lowest	Variance
8.	5.7	Blacks keep up their homes as much as anyone else	4.12	1.92	2.20
9.	1.3	Blacks tend to run nice neighborhoods down	4.94	2.04	2.90
10.	1.5	Most of the problems facing Black people today are caused by the Blacks themselves	4.36	1.68	2.68
11.	1.4	On the whole, Blacks have less ambition than Whites	4.67	1.92	2.75
12.	1.3	On the whole, Blacks tend to be lazy	4.79	2.56	2.23
13.	1.3	Most unemployed Blacks just don't want to work	4.23	1.84	2.39
14.	5.9	Blacks are as intelligent as Whites	4.79	2.68	2.11
15.	5.7	Both Whites and Blacks benefit from integrated neighborhoods	4.12	1.68	2.24
16.	1.2	Generally speaking, Black students don't make an effort to learn in school	4.86	2.60	2.26
17.	6.1	Black students are as intellectually capable as White students	4.53	2.72	2.11

	Degree of Favorability Mean Rating	Item	Mean for 25% Highest	Mean for 25% Lowest	Variance
18.	1.2	White people have a right to keep Blacks out of their neighborhoods	4.65	2.24	2.41
19.	5.8	White students benefit from integrated classes	4.42	1.92	2.50
20.	1.3	Black students have a negative effect on the quality of a school	4.53	2.04	2.59
21.	1.5	Whites and Blacks should live in separate neighborhoods	4.80	2.40	2.40
22.	6.2	It is as desirable to have Black families for neighbors as anyone else	4.63	2.12	2.51
23.	1.1	A Black man should not be President of the United States	4.65	2.24	2.41
24.	1.2	If I were a landlord, I would rent to Blacks	4.71	2.52	2.19
25.	1.7	Blacks and Whites should not date	4.33	1.72	2.61
26.	6.0	I wouldn't mind having a Black family doctor	4.33	2.32	2.01
27.	5.6	Given the opportunity, I would date a Black person	3.92	1.56	2.36

	Degree of Favorability Mean Rating	Item	Mean for 25% Highest	Mean for 25% Lowest	Variance
28.	1.8	Blacks and Whites should not marry	4.32	1.52	2.71
29.	1.3	I would not want Black families to move into my neighborhood	4.72	2.12	2.60
30.	1.9	I would rather have White friends than Black	4.21	1.92	2.29
31.	5.8	I wouldn't mind having a Black college roommate	4.64	2.36	2.28
32.	6.5	Blacks have much about them that I admire	4.41	1.68	2.73
33.	1.2	By nature, Blacks are not suited for most top level jobs	4.67	2.56	2.11
34.	1.2	Most Blacks are disorderly in conduct	4.52	2.24	2.28
35.	5.8	I wouldn't mind having a Black person as a close friend	4.64	1.92	2.72

SCALE FOR MEASURING ATTITUDES TOWARD WHITES

	Degree of Favorability Mean Rating	Item	Mean for 25% Highest	Mean for 25% Lowest	Variance
1.	5.2	White law officers treat Blacks and Whites equally	2.30	1.60	1.80
2.	5.7	On the whole, White people are less prejudiced than they used to be	3.70	1.70	2.00
3.	1.2	Most White people say one thing and do the opposite	3.50	1.40	2.10
4.	6.1	White teachers are generally as fair to Black students as they are to White students	3.70	1.70	2.00
5.	1.4	Black students are better off if they stay away from their White classmates	4.20	1.80	2.40
6.	1.8	Blacks and Whites should not date	4.00	1.70	2.30
7.	6.3	Most Whites can be trusted	3.80	1.80	2.00
8.	5.6	Given the opportunity, I would date a White person	3.70	1.30	2.40
9.	1.2	Given the opportunity, most Whites will cheat Black people	3.80	1.80	2.00

	Degree of Favorability Mean Rating	Item	Mean for 25% Highest	Mean for 25% Lowest	Variance
10.	6.7	Whites have much about them that I admire	3.80	1.50	2.30
11.	1.9	Blacks and Whites should not marry	4.10	2.10	2.00
12.	1.3	White people are only friendly to Blacks when they want something	3.90	1.80	2.10
13.	1.2	Most Whites are racists	3.40	1.40	2.00
14.	1.3	I would rather have Black friends than Whites	3.10	1.10	2.00
15.	1.2	The world would be a better place without White people	4.40	2.20	2.20
16.	5.7	I wouldn't mind having a White collge roommate	4.00	1.90	2.10
17.	6.4	On the whole, White people are fair and honest	3.50	1.50	2.00
18.	1.4	Whites should be made to get out of Black communities	4.00	2.00	2.00
19.	1.5	Whites only accept Blacks who think and act like Whites	3.70	1.60	2.10
20.	1.4	Most Whites wish that slavery still existed	4.50	1.90	2.60

Degree of Favorability Mean Rating		Item	Mean for 25% Highest	Mean for 25% Lowest	Variance
21.	1.8	A Black who marries a White person is a traitor to his people	4.40	2.30	2.10
22.	1.2	White people are not capable of being close friends with Blacks	3.80	1.60	2.20
23.	5.3	Blacks should have their own separate nation in America	4.30	2.30	2.00

Target Population

The target population for this study were high school seniors in three suburban districts representing social settings varying in terms of the possible interaction between Black and White students as reflected in each school's racial composition, grouping procedures, and curricular options. As stated earlier, the schools studied were an all White high school, a desegregated high school, and an integrated high school. Staff members in the three schools were interviewed to provide information about classroom racial composition, the racial composition of major extracurricular activities, curricular and library offerings related to the Black experience, school philosophies, grouping procedures, and student interaction.

Administering the Questionnaire

The data which will be described and compared in this study have two dimensions. The first dimension, the racial attitudes of high school seniors in three different high schools, was determined through written responses to a questionnaire of belief statements. In all three settings, the writer was introduced as a graduate student from Teachers College, Columbia University, who was conducting a survey of high school students' attitudes on a number of social issues.

In Glaston, the all White setting, the questionnaires were filled out in the senior English classes on October 23, 1971, with the cooperation of the English Department staff.

The writer met with the staff on the day prior to the administration of the questionnaires in order to briefly describe the study and to go over the instructions. The teachers were interested and cooperative. The questionnaires were administered and returned with no problems arising. In some classes, the writer administered the questionnaires; in others, the teachers administered the questionnaires.

In Liddon, the desegregated setting, the questionnaire was given to all seniors at one time in the auditorium on October 18, 1971. The principal was most helpful in administering the questionnaire, and since the total senior class present numbered only eighty-eight students, out of a possible total of one hundred and three, it was not difficult to have all of the students complete it at the same time. The students were polite and cooperative, and several spoke to the writer after they had finished.

On October 30, 1971, the writer administered the questionnaire in all of the senior social studies classes at Triville High School, the integrated setting. The two teachers responsible for these classes were present the entire time, and were most cooperative.

Analysis of Questionnaire Responses

Quantitative measures have been used in this study to relate the observed variables, responses to belief statements, to the latent variable, the attitude. A Likert scale of summated ratings has been employed. Subjects were asked to indicate their degree of agreement or disagreement with each belief statement by responding to each item in terms of a five-point scale ranging from strongly agree to strongly disagree. Such a scale provides some indication of the intensity of the respondents' beliefs. For statements indicating favorableness toward Blacks or Whites, strong agreement was given a value of five and strong disagreement a value of one. The order of scoring was reversed for statements indicating unfavorableness toward Blacks or Whites where strong disagreement was given a value of five. A total score was obtained for each subject by summing the scores on the individual items.

The data were analyzed in order to describe and compare the range of positive and negative attitudes within and among the three schools. Student responses within and among the three schools to specific items on the questionnaire are also described and compared. This specific analysis was examined further to determine patterns of responses emerging from each district.

Interviews and Observations

The second dimension of the data reported in this study describes aspects of the social setting within each high school. This is particularly true of the two racially mixed high schools where the writer spent considerable time interviewing staff members and observing the amount of interaction between Black and White students in the schools. In Glaston, the all White setting, the writer wished to determine the socio-economic level of students feeding into the school, any curricular offerings related to the Black experience or to Black-White relations, and the number of volumes contained in the library related to the Black experience or by Black authors. Two days were spent in Glaston conducting interviews and visiting the library. The writer did not interview the staff extensively in terms of school philosophies, grouping procedures and student interaction. This was done for comparative purposes in the two racially mixed settings as well as for capturing some of the essence of students' experiences in these two settings.

The writer spent an extended amount of time during the months of October, November, and December visiting Liddon and Triville. Visits were made to the libraries in these settings and interviews were conducted with staff members in the English and Social Studies Departments relative to any topics covered in the classroom which related to the Black experience or to Black-White relations. The descriptions of curricular offerings reported in this study were obtained from these interviews rather than reading through course outlines. However, the writer was unable to spend time observing actual classroom lessons.

Data were also obtained about the racial composition of the staff and student body in these two settings, the racial composition of each class in the high schools, and the racial composition of major extracurricular activities.

In Triville, information about the racial composition of each class was made available to the writer from the principal's office. In Liddon, however, the writer questioned each of the high school teachers to obtain this information.

In order to get some sense of the staff's perceptions of each of the racially mixed schools, the following questions were asked in interviews conducted with teachers and guidance counselors.

1. Is there a basic philosophy characteristic of this school?
2. How do you feel the Black and White students get along?
3. Is there much socializing between the two groups?
4. Would you call this an integrated school?
5. What do you feel are the major problems in this school?

Because of the strong commitment of the Triville school district to heterogeneous grouping as a way of integrating the classroom, the writer also questioned staff members there on their feelings about heterogeneous grouping.

In order to document some patterns of interaction between Black and White students in Triville and Liddon, the writer spent time in the cafeteria and library to obtain data on the seating patterns in these locations and to observe groupings in the corridor and outside the school between classes.

Importance of the Study

If future generations are to overcome the threat of racial strife, an understanding of the social settings which reduce negative attitudes and racial strife must be attained. Some research has indicated that intergroup contact in the schools does reduce negative racial attitudes and stereotypes. It is hoped that this study will provide some insights about the effect of intergroup contact on attitudes. It will compare the attitudes of high school seniors in an all White high school with those of seniors having interracial contact in a desegregated and an integrated setting.

Furthermore, it is intended that this study examine the implication of findings which focus on the importance of equal status contact and a social climate fostering positive interaction among Black and White students. These findings have maintained that contact alone may not break down unfavorable stereotypes between two groups if the contact between the individuals occurs in situations where status distinctions are maintained. This study has thus made a distinction between an integrated setting which seeks to facilitate the positive interaction of a racially mixed student body and a desegregated setting which is not characterized by practices aimed at fostering positive interaction. The racial attitudes of seniors in these settings are described and compared, and aspects of the social setting within each high school which might influence attitudes are described and compared.

It is the hope of this writer that the data described and compared in this study will contribute to an understanding of the beliefs and stereotypes held by students in the three different settings, and indicate the effects of intergroup contact and efforts to facilitate racial interaction.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE PERTINENT LITERATURE

The Concept of Attitude

The concept of attitude has played a major role in the history of social psychology, and today is playing an increasingly important part in almost all of the behavioral sciences. In a brief history of the concept, Gordon Allport, in 1935, pointed out that "the concept of attitude is probably the most distinctive and indispensable concept in contemporary American social psychology. No other term appears more frequently in experimental and theoretical literature."[1] Allport's words are as significant today as they were in 1935, and in the past decade attitude research has returned to the dominant status in social psychology that it occupied forty years ago.

Most writers credit Thomas and Znaniecki (1918) for instituting the concept of attitude as a permanent and central feature in sociological writing when they gave it systematic priority in their study of Polish peasants. For them the field of social psychology was the study of attitudes. Definitions and refinements of the concept contributed to a doctrine of attitudes in the 1920's and 1930's. Allport documented many of the conceptions of attitude and concluded that most agreement focussed on attitude as a learned predisposition to respond to an object in a consistently favorable or unfavorable way. Attitude in this sense was conceptualized as a unidimensional concept measuring affect. In formulations today, attitude has often become a complex multidimensional concept consisting of affective, cognitive, and conative components. Such formulations have caused significant problems in determining the relationships among the three components. Some theorists feel that the affective or purely evaluative component is the core of attitude while the other two are accretions forming around it, and are thus leaning again toward a more unidimensional view. The conceptualization of attitude which is being used in this study is unidimensional.

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[1] Gordon Allport, "Attitudes," *Readings in Attitude Theory and Measurement*, ed. Martin Fishbein (John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1967), p. 3.

Debates over various aspects of the concept continue today. One of the few issues on which most theorists agree is that attitudes are learned through experience. However, the most popular conceptulizations reflect a mediational-interactionist approach in which attitude is a mediating construct tied into socially observable reality at both ends. Antecedent conditions lead to it, and consequents follow from it. Such an approach indicates real world complications as interactions among antecedents or among consequents.[1] McQuire has pointed out the unlikelihood that any one approach to defining attitude will be superior to others in all respects. He states: "The mediational-interactionist approach to definition is more heuristically useful in general theorizing about attitude, while in specific experiments it is best to give attitude a direct operational definition in terms of observable responses."[2]

Studies of Racial and Ethnic Attitudes

The existence and pervasiveness of racial stereotypes and beliefs in the United States is closely linked to the myth of Black inferiority. Indeed, racial beliefs and stereotypes have served distinct social and economic purposes in American history, acting as rationalizations and justifications for discrimination in employment and education, and easing the conscience of White Americans. Myrdal saw the dogma of racial inequality as an explanation and moral apology for slavery in a society which had invoked as its highest principles the ideals of the inalienable rights of all men to freedom and equality. He stated: "The need for race prejudice is, from this point of view, a need for defense on the part of the Americans against their own national creed, against their own most cherished ideals."[1] In situation after situation, Myrdal showed that the attitudes of White Americans could be understood as compromises between the universalistic demands of what he called "The American Creed" and the particularistic requirements of solidarity with one's class, kin, and color. Myrdal thus pointed out the value conflict inherent in the discriminatory treatment of Blacks in a society professing egalitarianism.

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[1] William J. McQuire, "The Nature of Attitudes and Attitude Change," (Vol. III of The Handbook of Social Psychology, eds. Gardner Lindzey and Elliot Aronson. 6 vols.; Reading, Massachusetts: Addison Wesley Publishing Company, 1969), pp. 146-147.

[2] Ibid., p. 149.

Cultural isolation, along with poor living conditions and the resultant physical, moral, and intellectual disabilities and distortions of the average Black American have made it easy for Whites to believe in Black inferiority. In the early 1940's, Guy Johnson brought together a summary of stereotypes often held toward Blacks, drawing from a wide sampling of opinions expressed by both Black and White journalists, politicians, popular essayists, semiscientific and reputedly scientific writers.[2] At the time that Johnson wrote, no systematic survey of the stereotypes and beliefs concerning Black Americans existed. Although those most cited are not so relevant today, it is significant that most of the White writers Johnson quotes assume or imply that the traits are inborn or racial.

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[1] Gunner Myrdal, An American Dilemma (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1964), p. 89.

[2] Guy Johnson, "The Stereotype of the American Negro," Characteristics of the American Negro, ed. Otto Klineberg (New York: Harper Brothers Publishers, 1944), pp. 1-23.

Johnson stated:

> Naturally, the views of white writers on this subject are inseparable from their idealogical positions on such questions as slavery, and the relation of the Negro to American society. The idea of Negro inferiority is very old, but it flowered profusely in America as a justification of slavery, and it involved all sorts of judgements on the mentality, temperament, and morality of Negroes as a group.[1]

Much research has focussed on ethnic or racial attitudes during the past fifty years. As social scientists evaluated as well as described these attitudes, the concept of prejudice arose, and attitude scales were developed for empirical study based on a conception of prejudice as an unfavorable ethnic attitude. The consequences of prejudicial attitudes for majority and minority groups were first elaborated in Myrdal's _An American Dilemma_. The attitudes of prejudice and the behavior of discrimination were explored in Allport's _The Nature of Prejudice_ and _The Authoritarian Personality_ by Adorno et. al. The authors of the latter volume rejected the term prejudice for ethnocentricism, however, and utilized the California E. scale for their inquiry into the nature of the potentially fascistic individual.

The earliest systematic work on the measurement of intergroup attitudes was carried on by Bogardus (1925) with a widely used social distance scale consisting of classifications which represented gradually increasing degrees of social distance to which the respondent might permit members of different groups to come. In 1933, Katz and Braly constructed an index of stereotypes for various ethnic groups in a study where one hundred American college students were asked to select from a list of eighty-four traits those they considered most characteristic of ten groups. Katz and Braly felt that the degree of consensus of their subjects went far beyond anything justified by the objective characteristics of the various ethnic groups, and described their research as a study of racial stereotypes.[1] The studies of G. Murphy and R. Likert (1938) related attitudes toward Blacks to the degree of radicalism or conservatism of the respondent. They were also the first to summarize the number of social relationships to which an individual would willingly admit members of a variety of ethnic groups.[2]

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[1] Ibid., p. 4.

During the past thirty years, a vast number of studies have been devoted to assessing attitudes toward Blacks and other groups. Empirical study has focussed almost exclusively on the general favorable-unfavorable or affective dimension, and attitude scales have been developed to tap this dimension. Since 1950, the Likert type scale has largely replaced the Thurstone type as a measure of the degree of favorability or unfavorability toward a group. Such a scale includes a wide variety of questions related to a common theme, and the respondent indicates his degree of agreement or disagreement with each statement. The sum of the responses gives a single score indicating degree of favorableness toward the particular group.

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[1] Daniel Katz and Kenneth Braly, "Verbal Stereotypes and Racial Prejudice," Readings in Attitude Theory and Measurement, ed. Martin Fishbein (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1967), pp. 32-38.

[2] G. Murphy and R. Likert, Public Opinion and the Individual (New York: Harper Publishers, 1938).

Recent studies have revealed the use and refinement of various attitude scales, social distance scales, semantic differential scales, projective picture tests, and sociometric tests. In an exploratory study, with primary elementary children, Koslin provided evidence for the validity of a proximity test based upon inferring the cognitive and affective distinctions which a child makes about people from how close he clusters representational drawings of himself and Black and White peers.[1] Analysis indicated the validity of this test as a measure of social awareness and racial attitudes in primary grade children.

In treating racial attitudes, Rokeach has propsed that the basis for discrimination between people is dissimilarity of belief rather than race.[2] Sedlacek and Brooks have criticized this viewpoint and developed a

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[1] Sandra Koslin, "The Measurement of School Children's Racial Attitudes: A Validity Study," (Bronxville, New York: Sarah Lawrence College, 1969). (Mimeographed.)

[2] Milton Rokeach, Beliefs, Attitudes, and Values (San Francisco: Jossey-Base, Inc., 1968), p. 188.

Situational Attitude Scale (SAS).[1] Their major methodological point is that an appropriate measure of racial attitudes would provide a racial context for the individual items so that psycholgical withdrawal from the measure would be difficult. Their scale consists of ten personal and social situations with some relevance to a racial response. Ten bipolar Semantic Differential Scales are used for each situation. An interesting study in which this scale was used focussed on the social acceptability of racial attitudes.[2] The purpose of the study was to determine if White students were aware of any peer group attitudes toward Blacks. Responses to a questionnaire indicated that the college students did not like racists, but a similar group of students made negative racial responses when their attitudes were measured through use of the SAS. The findings in this study provided some evidence that there is a significant difference in what White students believe are socially acceptable attitudes toward Blacks and what they actually feel.

Woodmansee and Cook tried to delineate a number of different dimensions of variation in the attitudes of White

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[1] William E. Sedlacek and Glenwood C. Brooks, Jr., "The Measurement of White Toward Blacks with Certain Beliefs," (Research Report #1-70. College Park: Cultural Study Center, University of Maryland, 1970).

[2] William E. Sedlacek and Glenwood C. Brooks, Jr., "The Importance of Social Acceptability in the Measurement of Racial Attitudes," (Research Report #8-70. College Park: Cultural Study Center, University of Maryland, 1970).

Americans toward Blacks, and succeeded in identifying twelve different item clusters meeting their criterion of internal consistency.[1] Six clusters which were most differentiating between members of pro-Black and anti-Black organizations were (1) private rights, (2) derogatory beliefs, (3) local autonomy, (4) gradualism, (5) acceptance in close personal relations, and (6) ease in interracial contacts. Their findings indicate that analysis of racial attitudes can be accomplished in terms of a single general factor with subgroup factors and specifics, or in terms of multiple group factors and specifics.

Public opinion surveys have provided much information about attitudes toward Blacks in the United States. In 1967, Schwartz utilized data from surveys conducted between the years 1942 and 1965 by the National Opinion Research Center and Gallup surveys in order to analyze changing opinions toward Blacks in the areas of education, open housing, job discrimination, public transportation, and general racial situations.[2] Opinion trends were examined in relation to region of residence and level of education. Generally, the surveys cited indicated increasing favorability on the part of Whites toward Blacks, but strong attitudes of defensiveness emerged in the area of housing, especially among the least educated. The study concluded that the better educated, especially if they have schooling beyond high school, are more tolerant of racial and ethnic minorities, and were more responsive to the protection of civil rights. This conclusion is in contrast to Stember's reservations about the effect of schooling on prejudicial beliefs. He held ten variables constant in order to isolate the independent effect of education.[1] His study focussed on three dimensions of prejudice: (1) beliefs about minority groups including stereotypes and perceptions of group characteristics or behavior, negative or positive, (2) acceptance of personal relations with minority group members, and (3) attitudes toward discrimination. Stember held more limited conclusions about the effects of education. He saw the better educated as more likely to reject some stereotypes about minorities, but he suspects that if public opinion polls were geared to the more subtle aspects of stereotyping, it would be found that the better educated are not free from some generalized prejudices. He noted that although in most respects the better educated are less likely to be prejudiced, they are also the most likely to avoid intimate contact with minority groups.

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[1] J. J. Woodmansee and S. W. Cook, "Dimensions of Verbal Racial Attitudes: Their Identification and Measurement," Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 7:240-250, 1967.

[2] Mildred A. Schwartz, "Trends in White Attitudes Toward Blacks," (Chicago: National Opinion Research Center, University of Chicago, 1967).

Charles H. Stember, Education and Attitude Change: The Effect of Schooling on Prejudice Against Minority Groups (New York: Institute of Human Relations Press, 1961), p. 154.

Two Harris surveys focussed on U. S. racial attitudes in 1963 and 1965. Detailed questionnaires were filled out by one thousand fifty-nine Blacks and one thousand eighty-eight Whites from every part of the United States in the 1965 survey. It was found that White attitudes had softened since the 1963 survey. However, Whites were increasingly disturbed by the course of the Black struggle. Tolerance was highest among middle and upper class Whites who are farthest from the struggle. It was stated in the study that "the white world is also split along class lines; tolerance for the Negro is a great deal less among lower class urban whites who want to protect their home from his incursion than it is among middle and upper class whites who dwell far away in the peaceful suburbs."[1]

A 1968 "Supplemental Study for the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders" surveyed the perceptions and attitudes of more than five thousand Blacks and Whites in fifteen American cities.[2] This study revealed a strong tendancy for Whites to blame inferior employment, education, and housing on Blacks themselves rather than on discrimination. A primary emphasis was placed on

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[1] William Brink and Louis Harris, Black and White: A Study of U. S. Racial Attitudes Today (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1966), p. 178.

[2] Angus Campbell and Howard Schuman, Racial Attitudes in Fifteen American Cities (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1968).

Blacks' presumed lack of ambition and industriousness. However, younger people surveyed were more likely to acknowledge discrimination. The majority of Whites sampled supported government action to provide full employment, better education, and improved housing in parts of cities where they were lacking.

In assessing the determinants of racial attitudes, most authors agree upon three broad assumptions: (1) that they are learned, (2) that they are multicausally determined, and (3) that they are functional or need satisfying for the individual.[1] There is a general recognition "that intergroup attitudes are rooted in both the social environment that defines the person's existence and in those psychological processes which initiate and direct his behavior in his environment."[2] The interplay of norms and groups which influence ethnic or racial attitudes is extremely complex, and few studies have succeeded in disentangling the effects of such factors as family background, religion, socio-economic status, and education.

Intergroup Contact and the Schools

Much research in the area of ethnic and racial attitudes indicates that personal contact between members of different ethnic groups may play a decisive role in the formation of positive intergroup attitudes if the contact takes place under conditions of equal status and genuine cooperation. Brink and Harris' 1965 public opinion data show that Whites who have had previous contact with Blacks are less prejudiced and have fewer stereotypes than Whites with no such contact. In a study designed to test the hypothesis that "stereotypes break down under contact between members of formerly segregated groups,"[1] MacKenzie concluded that the occupational status of Blacks whom respondents had known, rather than contact per se, is an important factor in determining willingness to associate with Blacks. Smith found a significant gain in favorableness toward Blacks on the part of forty-six Teachers College graduate students taken to Harlem on visits which included lectures by Blacks and teas and dinners with Blacks as hosts and guests.[2]

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[1] John Harding et. al., "Prejudice and Ethnic Relations," (Vol. II of the Handbook of Social Psychology, eds. Gardner Lindzey and Elliot Aronson. 6 vols.; Reading, Massachusetts: Addison Wesley Publishing Company, 1969), p. 25.

[2] Ibid.

Most studies seem to indicate that behavioral situations have a significant effect on attitudes. Raab and Lipset state: ". . . in other words, evidence indicates that specific attitudes shape themselves to behavior. People who actually work with Negroes, especially as full equals on every level tend to devolop attitudes toward them as full equals on every level."[1]

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[1] Barbara K. MacKenzie, "The Importance of Contact in Determining Attitudes Toward Negroes," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 43:417, October, 1948.

[2] F. T. Smith, "An Experiment in Modifying Attitudes Toward the Negro" (unpublished dissertation, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1943).

As school districts have desegregated across the United States, schools have become arenas for interaction between Black and White students. In his analysis of the effect of education on prejudice, Stember found that (1) intergroup contact reduced the prevalence of stereotyped beliefs, (2) persons who have met Blacks of similar educational status are less discriminatory on issues of job equality and social equality than those who have not, and (3) intergroup contact has strong positive effects on overall relationships. He states: "Where no contact with status equals has occurred, education is so much less effective as to suggest that formal schooling alone may be of limited use in changing attitudes."[2]

Guskin and his associates assessed present organizational and learning structures, as well as the implicit and explicit forms of White racism, in fifteen New York State high schools. They examined how Black, Puerto Rican, and White students were affected in these high schools. The data indicated that Black and Puerto Rican students are experiencing a more negative learning environment in schools than White students. Also, social relationships among students as well as in formal and informal student activities are sources of great pain for minority students. "Black and Puerto Rican students consistently feel more racial tension than Whites, and more racial name-calling. Further, very large numbers of Black students especially state that they are left out because of racism, while White students don't see Blacks as being left out."[1]

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[1] Earl Raab and Seymour M. Lipset, Prejudice and Society, (New York: Anti-Defamation League, 1968), p. 22.

[2] Stember, loc. cit.

Smith and Hardyck conducted a study of prejudice among eighth, tenth, and twelfth graders in three eastern communities. Their findings clearly indicated that students tend to choose their friends from their own racial-religious groups and showed that high percentages of the students held unfavorable beliefs toward Blacks. They stated:

> In a pluralistic society, which values diversity, we should expect and even welcome some persisting bias toward choice of friends from within one's own ethnic or religious group. But the virtually unpenetrated barrier against even same-sex friendships between Negro and white students clearly reflects prejudice. And at the same time, it is itself a major obstacle to the reduction of prejudice. Desegregation that fails to lower this barrier remains in essential respects a token gesture.[2]

In "Affective Climate and Integration: A Report Presented to the ERIC Clearing House on the Disadvantaged," Richard J. Kraft sought to determine what recent research has indicated regarding the effect of integration on the attitudes of all those affected. Kraft proposed that the purpose of school integration should not only be to raise the scholastic achievement of Blacks, but also to foster interracial acceptance and lower prejudice. He cites the major attitudinal conclusion of the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights in Racial Isolation in the Public Schools, that the racial attitudes of both Whites and Blacks are influenced by the racial composition of the schools. Kraft points out, however, that "most research seems to indicate that interracial contact, without guidance from teachers and positive community support, does not necessarily result in improved attitudes on the part of either Blacks or whites."[1]

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[1] Alan E. Guskin et. al., High Schools in Crisis: A Study of the Organizational Crises in New York State High Schools (Ann Arbor, Michigan: Community Resources Limited, 1971), p. 113.

[2] M. Brewster Smith, "The Schools and Prejudice Findings," Prejudice U.S.A., eds. Charles Y. Glock and Ellen Siegelman (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1969), p. 121.

McDowell has pointed out that the school climate and quality of race relationships are of greater importance than the race ratio in reducing unfavorable intergroup attitudes.[2] Her study indicates that races must approach each other on an equal status level if antagonism is to be lessened. In a study of co-curricular activities, Gunthorp concluded that Black and White students voluntarily integrate themselves into a single group. Her major point was that contact and participation of peers on an equal status can remove discrimination and prejudice.[1] Koslin and others found that the interracial attitudes of grade three students were more favorable in classes which were racially balanced.[2] In a study dealing with tenth grade students, McWhirt found that the prejudices of Black students were more affected by an integrated school setting than those of White students.[3] He felt that Blacks were forced to seek social approval and had to modify their behavior more than White students. He also suggested that the limited number of Blacks in most integrated schools can only have a small effect on White student attitudes.

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[1] Richard J. Kraft, "Affective Climate and Integration: A Report Presented to the ERIC Clearing House on the Disadvantaged," ED035703, October, 1969.

[2] Sophia McDowell, "Prejudices and Other Interracial Attitudes of Negro Youth," (ERIC, ED019390, 1967), p. 72.

Singer found that White fifth graders in integrated schools compared with White fifth graders in segregated schools were more accepting of Blacks and more familiar with Black celebrities. Also, the more intelligent the child in the integrated school, the more favorable his attitude.[4] McPartland focussed on the importance of classroom student composition rather than total school composition as a significant influence on Black students' achievement and Black and White students' attitudes.[1] He found that social integration within desegregated schools as measured by Black students' inclusion in interracial friendship groups was an effective agent for changes in racial attitudes.

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[1] Muriel Gunthorp, "A Comparison of Negro and White Students Participation in Selected Classes of a Junior High School Program," (Dissertation Abstracts, 64-84477).

[2] Sandra Koslin and others, "Classroom Balance and Students Interracial Attitudes," (ERIC, ED040266, 1970).

[3] Ronald McWhirt, "The Effects of Desegregation on Prejudice, Academic Aspiration, and the Self Concept of Tenth Grade Students," (Dissertation Abstracts, 1967).

[4] Dorothy Singer, "The Influence of Intelligence and an Interracial Classroom on Social Attitudes," The Urban R's, eds. B. Dentler, B. Mackler and M. E. Warshauer (New York: Praeger Press, 1966), pp. 99-117.

Kraft cited the following conclusions from his review of the research on desegregated school settings:

> 1. Classroom contact may bring about more positive attitudes between children of differing races, but it does not necessarily follow. The teachers and the general social climate of the school play an extremely important role in the successful changing of attitudes.
>
> 2. Interracial friendships are the most effective agent of changes in racial attitudes.
>
> 3. The pupils must approach each other on an equal basis if racial attitudes are to be changed.[2]

The relationship between ethnic attitudes and intergroup behavior poses a complex problem.

> There seem to be some individuals whose ethnic attitudes are continually being expressed in intergroup behavior of various sorts, whereas the intergroup behavior of other individuals is independent of whatever attitudes they have. Also, behavioral situations vary tremendously in the extent to which they allow ethnic attitudes to be expressed.[3]

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[1] James McPartland, "The Segregated Students in Desegregated Schools: Sources of Influences on Negro Secondary Students," (Johns Hopkins University: Center for the Study of Social Organization of Schools, 1968).

[2] Kraft, op. cit., pp. 61-62

[3] Harding et. al., op. cit., p. 6.

Such a view reflects the general complexity of the relationship between attitude and behavior. One can only conclude that the significance of research in the area of racial and ethnic attitudes is that such research reveals the stereotypes and beliefs which can predispose individuals to react to particular groups in certain ways. Such predispositions must be recognized and understood if the future is to hold more positive interaction among various racial and ethnic groups in the United States.

CHAPTER III

GLASTON, THE ALL WHITE HIGH SCHOOL

General Description

Glaston High School South is one of two high schools serving two predominantly middle class communities. There are fifteen hundred students in the high school, three hundred twenty-eight of whom are seniors. A very small population of Blacks live in Glaston, but all of the Black high school students, a total of twenty-three, are in Glaston High School North. Thus, Glaston South students have no in-school contact with Black peers, and because of segregated housing, there is virtually no outside contact. The only Black in the high school is the Head Custodian.

Glaston is a suburban community, isolated from the turmoil of surrounding cities. Many community members left city areas to get away from turmoil, poverty, and racial problems. According to the two Social Studies and four English teachers who were interviewed, it is a conservative community which doesn't want change, and the basically traditional high school reflects this. The most innovative practive in the high school is the English Department's use of electives. This idea is spreading to other departments, but on the whole, teachers who were interviewed felt that the administration, School Board, and teachers of Glaston

South are not oriented toward change.

Approximately eighty percent of the population in Glaston were described by teachers as middle to upper middle class. This population includes college professors, junior executives, stock brokers, specialists in medicine, teachers, and employees of five large research facilities in the area. A very small percentage of upper class company presidents, top executives, lawyers, and politicians, and a lower middle class group of skilled and unskilled laborers associated with the research firms and six small industries make up the remainder of the population.

Curricular Offerings Related to the Black Experience

In order to gain a sense of any curricular experiences Glaston South students might have which would sensitize them to the Black experience or to Black-White relations, the writer interviewed staff members in the English and Social Studies Departments and also assessed what was available in the library in these areas.

Social Studies

An interview with the Social Studies Department Chairman indicated a lack of any real commitment to sensitizing Glaston South students to the Black experience in America or to dealing with racial problems at all in the curriculum. His response to the question, "Could you describe any course offerings you have which relate to the Black experience or to Black-White relations," indicates the extent to which these topics are covered

> Well, before answering that, maybe I would explain our philosophy about this. This school has been in operation since 1966. We opened at that time with just freshmen and sophomores. We had the opportunity to develop from the ground, and considered offering a Black Studies course. I contacted the Director of the Weston Community Action Group who was Black and spent some time talking with him about Black Studies and whether we should institute it. He said, 'No, it shouldn't be separate.' So we decided to develop an emphasis on Blacks in the regular curriculum along with other minorities. You have to remember that the Social Studies field is traditional. We are first students of history. The Blacks may need emphasis now because of de-emphasis in the past, but we don't have a separate course for this
>
> I have accumulated a lot of A. V. materials and try to get my teachers to use them. I don't know how much they do use them and I kind of doubt that my teachers are doing credit to the Black experience. Certainly in Psychology which is a semester course, in the unit on alienation there would be exposure to the experiences of Blacks. I would also imagine that there would also be some of it in our Sociology course.
>
> Our U. S. History course for seniors starts from the Depression of 1929 and there is a unit on Social and Cultural Development which might bring in some background on Blacks. United States History for the juniors starts with the Constitutional Conventions to the Crash and the only place that Blacks would come in would be during the Civil War period. And that would be so traditional that no comparison could be made to present problems. In the freshmen course, American Governmental Studies, it isn't really touched. The sophomore course, World Civilizations, offers a cultural approach to Western History. There wouldn't be any reference to Blacks except maybe in the rise of Nazi Germany where there was discrimination against Blacks as well as Jews. There is a unit on Africa, but this wouldn't relate to the American Black experience. In Cultural Geography in the junior year, there wouldn't be anything.
>
> We do have a committee working on more electives now. Probably minorities and other areas will be considered, but Blacks per se, no.

At this point, the chairman got up to show me the materials his department has which relate to the Black experience. Next to his desk was a bookshelf from which he took two books, *Minorities: U.S.A.* edited by Finklestein, Sandifer, and Wright and *Cities in American Life* by Richard C. Wade. I asked him if these two books were available in sets and he said no. "They come to mind because the salesman dropped them off, but I keep them available for the teachers to use. Also in his office were Guidance Associates A. V. Sound Filmstrips which included "Harlem Renaissance and Beyond," "The Black Odyssey: Migration to the Cities," and "An African Essay" by Anne Morrow Lindbergh. Mr. Murray stated that these were used extensively, but wasn't sure for which classes. We then went to the storage closet where the following materials were shown to me.

"Africa in Ferment," *The New York Times Current Event Filmstrips*. New York: New York Times Book and Educational Division, 1968.

"Negroes in American Life," *The New York Times Current Event Filmstrips*. New York: New York Times Book and Education Division, 1969.

"Studies in the History of Black Americans," a series of ten records and filmstrips, Morristown, New Jersey: Silver Burdett Company, 1970.

The following sets of books were also in the closet.

Bohannan, Paul. *Africa and Africans*. Garden City, New Jersey: Natural History Press, 1964.

Eisenstadt, Murray (ed.). *The Negro in American Life*. New York: The Oxford Book Company, Inc., 1968.

Emerson, Rupert. *The Negro Since Emancipation*. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1967.

Seaburg, Stanley (ed.). *The Negro in American History*. Vol. I, *Which Way to Equality*. New York: Scholastic Book Services, 1968.

Wade, Richard C. (ed.). The Negro in American Life. New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1965.

Wish, Harvey. Africa and U. S. Policy. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1964.

The department chairman was not sure which classes used these books nor how often they were used. He also stated, "Several chapters in our textbooks probably relate to Blacks."

Since the Social Studies Department Chairman had felt that topics related to the Black experience would be covered in the Sociology and Psychology courses, I interviewed the teacher of these two courses. The interesting thing about this interview was that the teacher was very ambivalent. At the beginning of the interview, he seemed very critical of teachers who avoided talking about issues related to Blacks. As he talked about his own classes, however, he became almost vehement in his feelings that it was totally unproductive and stilted to talk about Blacks if there were no Blacks in the school. He also indicated approval of the fact that the NAACP had gotten the school library to build up a collection of books by or about Blacks, but he doesn't use the almost one hundred volumes on Blacks in the Sociology section. Given below is the text of the writer's conversation with this teacher in relation to four questions raised.

> Do you cover any topics related to the Black experience or to Black-White relations in your Sociology course?
>
> I don't have any specific unit related to this. The only thing I use where it comes up is an excellent film, Bill Cosby's "Black History, Lost Stolen, or

Strayed." It's a series of film clips that show a lot of the old stereotypes. With no Black kids in the school, this is the only kind of thing the kids can get something out of. I worked in Harlem and Bedford Styvesant and I talk a lot to the kids about my personal experiences. I don't think many of the teachers in this school deal with Black topics. They stay away from the issues. Many of them came from schools which were gradually taken over by Blacks, and have some pretty negative views. Don't get me wrong. They are nice people, and I'm friendly with them, but they are racists. They aren't going to see any reason for dealing with the issue here. They came here to get away from it.

How do your students react to the Bill Cosby film?

The more academic classes don't say too much. With the standard kids, more is said because they are closer to the problem. But with the more intellectual, it's very stilted so I stay away from it for that reason. Discussion about Black-White topics becomes very heady here without having Black students to respond. The liberals say what the liberals are supposed to say, and the conservatives say what the conservatives are supposed to say. I hate preachy things. I think they have a right to come to grips with the fact that they have a right to their own prejudices. If they don't feel that, they'll never get beyond that point. If you just kind of force a suppressed normalcy, you become very superficial. I have a clinical background, and I don't think that we should force kids to repress their prejudices.

Do you deal with the Black experience in your Psychology course?

No, because you don't have Blacks in the classroom. It becomes very stilted. Sometimes when it comes up and the discussion gets heated, and some one is called a bigot, I have to stick up for the prejudiced kid. At least he is being honest. I really feel that treating the whole issue without having Blacks in the classroom is unproductive.

I noticed that there are many books related to the Black experience in the Sociology section of the library. Do you use these?

That's another thing. Three years ago, the NAACP came into the school and made a stink because there were very few books in the library on Blacks. So a lot of the books were ordered and I was asked to order some too. It's sort of interesting how an

> organization can act like a watchdog and get an institution to do something. It was very productive. I can't say that I use them for my classes though, but they're there for reference.

English

The English Department at Glaston is making an effort to expose students to the Black experience and to "good" Black literature. A unit on Black literature has been made a part of the tenth grade English curriculum, and individual teachers are dealing with the question of how to incorporate related offerings into some of the electives offered to juniors and seniors. In an interview with the chairman of the English Department, it was revealed that the impetus for providing students with insights into the Black experience had come from a teacher within the department who had come to Glaston three years before from a predominantly Black high school. At that time, she had pointed out to the department that students in Glaston were deprived in the sense that they had no contact with Blacks. With the support of the English department and permission from schoool administrators, she had arranged for a speaker from a Black Community Action Group, and had arranged for approximately twenty-five of her former students to visit classes at Glaston for a two-way dialogue. Glaston students also visited the Black students' high school. The department chairman felt that the exchange had been very successful, and indicated that it was the first time that many of the students had ever had a face-to-face conversa-

> "Uncle Tom's Cabin." It had been stolen from our library, and the county library didn't have it available. I finally got hold of it, and we talked about the book.

When asked about some of the topics that came up in his class, he replied:

> I've moved some of the discussion toward dating and marriage, but this grows out of the literature. There is an incident that Gordon Parks describes in The Learning Tree where he has a cousin from a mixed marriage who is very light. He gets jumped when walking on the street with her one day for walking with a White woman. I ask them why this would happen; or would it happen today. This led to an interesting discussion on marriage. Some students who had come from high schools where there were Blacks told about their experiences, and the fact that Blacks and Whites dated without any trouble. Some would also accept marriage, but only if there were no offspring. I would ask, 'What kind of marriage is it if you can't have children?' Most of them say it's because the society won't accept the children.
>
> The important thing is that we get kids in this school to think about these things. I don't know how successful we are in getting them to change their feelings. How can you weigh these things? But the important thing is that they begin to see how the Blacks have suffered. There are two problems, though. They resent the "super' kind of character portrayed in many of the books; they call it the "super nigger". They also feel that Negroes today have as much as they do. They don't feel that society today treats the Negro the way it is described in books. They are very smug. They don't see what it's like for the other half, Black or White. Even though they are close to Edgefield and the problems there with the Blacks, they are ignorant of the experiences of the really poor Blacks. The Edgefield Blacks may not have as much as these kids, but they aren't the very poor variety.
>
> We've had some very hot discussions and arguments in class. One class was calling one of the boys a bigot when he kept insisting that Blacks aren't as good or intelligent as Whites. He really felt Whites are superior. Finally he backed down to only objecting to marriage between Blacks and Whites. The class brings out a lot of hostilities. I don't know how much good we're doing, but it's getting out a lot of the attitudes that these kids have.

As we sat together in the teachers' lunch room, one tion with Blacks. Although no similar exchange had taken place since that time, the experience convinced members of the English Department that they had a responsibility to make students aware of the Black experience.

Three teachers who are members of the tenth grade English team are especially focussing on Black literature. The following interview with one of the men on the team not only describes their efforts in this direction, but reveals some of the more subjective perceptions this teacher had about dealing with race-related topics in Glaston.

When the writer asked this teacher to describe what they were offering in Black literature or related topics, he indicated that they would be using the following books in a unit on Black literature: Coming of Age in Mississippi, Anne Moody; The Learning Tree, Gordon Parks; To Sir With Love, E. R. Braithwaite; Black Like Me, John Howard Griffin; The Contender, Robert Lipsyte; and Nigger, Dick Gregory. He went on to say:

> Actually, we used The Contender and The Learning Tree as part of our unit on youth this year and last. (In a description of the course offerings for tenth grade English classes, one of the units is entitled "Youth" and is described as emphasizing the problems and conflicts of young people and the experience of the growing process). These gave the kids a sense of what it is like for Blacks growing up, and also showed us that there is a need for an exposure to good Black literature written by Blacks about Blacks. We want to give the kids a sense of good Black literature, and the Black experience. The discussions we've had show how little students in this school know about what it's like to be Black. I was really amazed last year when most of my students didn't know what the term "Uncle Tom" meant. It shocked me that they wouldn't know what it means. This floored me. Then we couldn't get a copy of

of the teachers of an Honors section of an elective called "The Forms of Fiction" described an assignment she had given last spring. She prefaced her account of the unit by reporting that she had formerly received a summer grant which had been open-ended for teachers to strengthen their background in any area in which they felt a need. She had decided to improve her background in the area of Black literature. As a result of her interest, one of the librarians, who was also sitting with us, developed an annotated bibliography of some of the books in the library by Black authors or related to the Black experience. This was called the "Black List" and was given to students in the History and English classes.

Students in the Honors class were given the list to use as a guide, and were told to read a novel, an autobiography, and several short stories. Based upon what they had read, they were to select anything they felt would be appropriate for everyone in an Honors class to read. The choices they made were to be justified. The teacher commented: "For some it worked out well, and they learned from it. Others really moaned and groaned about the assignment."

She said that this year many of the outside reading choices and collections of short stories include Black authors. The English Department also now has sets of Black anthologies, and the materials in the library could supplement these. She stated: "Now that I have read most of the stories in most of the books, there will be more direction given. The kids do select these choices, especially the more sensitive ones. The girls will read several of them."

Later in the day, this teacher showed me some collages in her room that the students had made in relation to an assignment she had given to them: they were to convey without words their impressions of prejudice. There was much emphasis in the collages on the separation of the White and Black world. Many of the collages used scenes of despair, showing the effects of poverty, life in impoverished ghettoes, or faces touched by pain and hopelessness. Many collages portrayed Black children in depressed areas and sometimes contrasted them to White children in comfortable happy atmospheres.

The librarian who had put together the "Black List", and was sitting with us in the lunch room, interjected with comments that provided some added insights on the process of covering topics related to the Black experience with Glaston students. She stated:

> Let me give you another side of the picture. The kids really resented the assignment that Alice gave them last spring, and did a lot of complaining when they came down to the library. I was really disappointed in the comments made by some of the girls I liked. Maybe it was a lot of other things that were causing them to complain, like other term papers being due, but I think a lot of it was just plain anti-Black feelings.

She went on to say:

> The Social Studies department isn't doing anything with the books we have available in the library on Blacks. Not that there's much talk between them and us anyway. The tenth grade English team is now

> collecting some of the books we have and is putting them in the team room so they can be available to the kids. This is only the second time since I've been here that I've seen anything done with what we have available in Black literature in this school. (This was her second year in the school). We have the books, but unless teachers force the kids to use them, they are not touched. A lot of people don't want to talk about the problem. This is such a lily White community. Many people moved away from a lower class setting and now live on mortgage mountain. They think it's a tremendous school system, and that feeling also exists among staff members in the school. We spend at least five minutes at the beginning of our meetings patting ourselves on the back. If any changes take place in this school, they will come from the English department.

The Library

I spent a few hours in the Glaston High School library which had a modernly attractive and open atmosphere. The Head Librarian told me that there were about 18,500 volumes in the library. The library orders periodicals for the whole school, but not all stay in the library. Many go out to the different departments. The library subscribes to about one hundred twenty-nine periodicals, about eighty of which stay in the library. None of these include any Black periodicals. The Head Librarian made the following reply to the question "Could you give me an indication of how many volumes your library has by Black authors or which are related to the Black experience?"

> We do have an awful lot. We must have about a thousand volumes. We have so much, it's almost unbalanced. We ought to have more on other groups like the Irish or Italians. There are a great many in the Sociology section, several hundred. There is Black literature all over the place. The thing that

> bothers me is that we are catering to one race, and we're just overbalanced in terms of the Blacks. I'm afraid when the kids come in here they think that the Blacks are the only minority. I've been trying to get things in terms of other minorities. We have a large Italian population here, and we should have more in that. We should have something on the Irish immigrants, but they don't ask. It seems when we talk about minorities, everyone thinks Black. I resented the whole business of Civil Rights. It made everyone more aware of color. I don't see a person's color when I look at him. When I was small, my parents often had all kinds of people stay over at our house. My room was always the guest room. After people stayed, I might be sleeping on the same sheets as a Chinese, but I never thought about it. We didn't think of those things then.
>
> About our collection, I have a feeling maybe we're over-balanced; maybe it's just in Sociology. As far as periodicals go, we were told we had to get the same magazines as the other high school had. Last spring I sent a sheet of paper around to all of the teachers to find out what magazines they would like to have in the library, in their department, or to use professionally. I have that list and *Ebony* was on there, and it seems to me there was another one. If I get enough money, we'll get them.

The Head Librarian had indicated that she felt that the library had at least one thousand volumes related to Blacks or by Black authors. This was a totally unrealistic figure, however. The librarian who had compiled the annotated bibliography entitled the "Black List" had taken a count of the books prior to my coming. The following are her figures. I spent two hours in the library doing some counting, looked through some of the books, and found her figures to be accurate.

Areas		Approximate Number
Fiction		45
Biography		30
Sociology		90
Civil Rights		25
Slavery		15
Literature:	Poetry Anthologies Readings	20
Reconstruction section on the South		15
Black History		2
Arts		10
Africa		55
African Literature		5
	Total	312

Summary

Glaston High School South is a large high school with complexes stretching out from a central section. As one walks through the halls, there is a feeling of spaciousness, and the school's physical facilities are impressive. If one is also considering the question of racial isolation in schools, however, one is impressed by the sea of White faces passing in the halls. The only Black person in the school is the Head Custodian. This is not intended as a judgement about the validity of such a setting in educational terms. It is merely commentary that is central to a consideration of the questions raised in this study.

A review of the interviews with staff members indicates that some beginnings have been made to break down this isolation through curricular offerings in the English Department. One can only interpret their efforts as a beginning, however. There is no widespread awareness in the school of the possibility of students' being deprived because of the racial composition of the staff and student body and the nature of the curricular offerings.

Although the library has a representative collection related to the Black experience, the Head Librarian resents the collection, and students and staff are not making use of the collection on any widespread basis. The writer can only describe the setting as a White middle class oasis hoping to isolate itself from the turmoil of surrounding cities.

CHAPTER IV

THE RACIALLY MIXED HIGH SCHOOLS

General Description

As neighboring school districts, Triville and Liddon serve a very similar clientele. Teachers and administrators in both schools described the student body as mainly consisting of a middle and upper class Jewish population, a lower and middle class Black population, and a lower and middle class Italian-American population. A small percentage of Irish-Americans and Puerto Ricans is found in both schools. Thus, the student body of each high school is similar in terms of ethnic groups and economic levels. Students from very poor as well as from very wealthy homes attend each school.

For the most part, housing in the two communities is segregated. Most of the Black population live in either low income housing or in modest single family dwellings. In the Triville district, there is also a well-to-do Black middle class neighborhood.

Both large and small industries are located in and around the two communities as well as several industrial parks and a complex of research facilities. Much of the population also commutes to a nearby metropolitan area. In both high schools, approximately sixty percent of the student body goes on to four year colleges, and another fourteen percent go on to two year junior colleges, business, technical, or nursing schools.

Triville, the Integrated District

Triville High School was built around eleven years ago in the center of a 9150 acre estate donated to the district. The campus consists of a large three story classroom building; a three tiered structure housing the auditorium, cafeteria, library, a handful of classrooms, and a suite for administration and guidance; several portable classrooms, and a separate gymnasium and athletic field complex. Of the 1298 students attending Triville, which houses grades eight through twelve, four hundred forty-nine, or thirty-five percent are Black. There are two hundred one students in the senior class of whom sixty, or thiry percent are Black.

Of the ninety-six classroom teachers at Triville, eleven are department chairmen and teach an average of two classes per day. The Triville school district has consistently made an effort to recruit Black staff members throughout the district. Sixteen, or sixteen percent, of the ninety-six teachers at the high school level are Black. There are also seven Guidance counselors of whom two are Black, a Director of Student Activities who is Black, and a Dean of Students who is Black. The Principal is White and the Vice Principal is Black. In the central office, the Superintendent of the district is White and the Assistant Superintendent in Charge of Curriculum and Human Relations is Black.

The Triville Philosophy

The writer had spent much time in the Triville school district during the 1970-71 school year as part of the internship experience required in her program in the Department of Curriculum and Teaching at Teachers College. During that time, she gained a strong sense of the entire district's commitment to a philosophy which had become a banner for the school district: Quality Integrated Education. During the 1970-71 school year, the philosophy had broadened to include an emphasis on individualized instruction.

A school philosophy must be acknowledged by its teaching staff if it is to have any meaning. Therefore, the writer asked teachers in Triville if they felt that the school had a philosophy, if they could describe it, and if they felt it was being carried out. All fourteen of the Social Studies and English teachers questioned at Triville High School responded affirmatively to their being a basic philosophy characteristic of the school. Nine identified this as "quality integrated education"; two other teachers mentioned individualization, and two others mentioned integration. One teacher suggested the school's basic philosophy as being child oriented.

When questioned whether they felt the philosophy was being carried out, seven of the nine Triville teachers who had identified quality integrated education felt that it was being carried out as much as possible. One felt it was definitely being carried out, and one felt it was not being carried out to any significant degree

Triville Teachers' Perceptions of Integration

The writer, in the title of this dissertation, has differentiated between the two racially mixed settings, calling one an integrated setting, and the other, a desegregated setting. In the hope of eliciting relevant perceptions regarding the nature of each setting, the writer asked several teachers in each school "Would you call this an integrated school?" Of the fifteen teachers who were asked this question in Triville, eleven reflected a positive response, and four felt the school was integrated, but in a limited sense. Interpreting their responses would be a subjective exercise since the word "integrated" means different things to different people. Their responses do provide valuable insights, however. Illustrative of the responses made by the Triville teachers are the following (the race and sex of each of the respondents is indicated).

> Question: Would you call this an integrated school?
>
> Basically, yes, from what I can see. I don't know about all of the academic areas, but from what I've seen, yes - if you define integration by mixing Black and White students in a school situation. (Female, Black)
>
> Perhaps as much as any school can be with all the social problems that make real integration difficult today. We've created a setting where Blacks and

> Whites can interact and our curriculum reflects the student body. But that doesn't mean we're integrated in the sense that the kids are overcoming the racial barriers and forming close friendships. (Male, White)
>
> The way the word is usually used, yes. As for socially integrating the school, of course we haven't. The neighborhoods aren't integrated, and that's where it's at. If we can integrate the neighborhoods, then we could accomplish social integration in the school. (Female, White)
>
> I see the terms integrated and desegregated on two different levels. Desegregation is in terms of number. Integration implies that people accept a philosophical view. I accept you and you accept me. Using the second definition, I would say yes. Parents are not fighting because Blacks are here, nor are they running away. We don't have an overwhelming number of Blacks moving in and Whites moving out. From a philosophical point of view, yes we are integrated. (Male, Black)
>
> In terms of putting Black and White kids in the same building and in the same classes, yes. In terms of really bringing them together, no.
>
> Yes, I think it is aside from the busses. Unfortunately, Black children still live in Black neighborhoods. (Female, White)

Triville and Heterogeneous Grouping

Heterogeneous grouping is a strategy which the Triville school district considers part of its policy of "quality integrated education." On the elementary level, this means that a quota system is used to achieve balance in each classroom in terms of race, sex, and achievement level. The English and Social Studies Departments at Triville High School are emphatically commited to heterogeneous grouping. The writer asked several teachers in these departments how they felt about the fact that their classes are grouped heterogeneously. The following responses are indicative of the nature of their replies.

> I'm absolutely for it. I fought for it in the past because I believed in it. Now I fight for it because I see it working. In the past, we weren't heterogeneous. We had a bottom, middle, and top track. People patted themselves on the back because we had options for the kids on the bottom to go to Regents. But it was a joke because they never did. At the time, the bottom group had been set aside for good intentions. We really believed in our materials. But we used to get any kid in these classes who had been a discipline problem. We found that teachers would put any problem kid in these classes. When we dropped the bottom group and started mixing them, we started noticing that by the end of the year, we couldn't tell who was the Regents kid and who would have been the bottom kid. We found that we could develop multi-level materials. (English teacher)

> In the past, we had heterogeneous grouping in the eighth grade, but homogeneous in the ninth, tenth, and eleventh. There was an elective system in the twelfth which wasn't homogeneous. Last year we reorganized the curriculum and this was the first major change in many years. We felt homogeneous grouping really wasn't homogeneous. We were never sure about what criteria had been used to put students in any class. There are also many students here who, being in a classroom where there were more challenges and demands, would be able to succeed at a better rate than they were. Before, it was a constant exposure to the same ideas, even in an Honors class. Even Honors kids seem to think in the same way. There was very little variety, and we felt this was a very unreal situation, and we weren't developing the students' concepts and ideas. We break up to a degree children who might have similar behavior patterns either way. We find that by scattering them, it's better. (English Department Chairman)

> It's the only way to teach Social Studies. Heterogeneous grouping is essential. I can't conceive of another approach. In the past, the alternative to heterogeneity was compensatory education. We went in this direction in the past, but the stigma and the psycholgocial effects destroyed what we were trying to do. In a heterogeneous group, the slower student can raise a question and all kids react. So the underachiever gains equality in this situation. This is the main justification for this program. In compensatory education we

> never got anyplace. We spent fortunes in this district, and it just didn't work. (Social Studies Department Chairman)
>
> For the ninth grade in Social Studies, it's the only way. I believe in it very strongly. (Social Studies teacher)

Heterogeneous grouping is not followed in the eleventh grade Social Studies classes, however, where sections are divided into Regents and Non-Regents classifications. The comments of one of the two teachers of this grade level point out problems which have racial implications when heterogeneous grouping is interrupted for a particular grade.

> I wish we had heterogeneous grouping in the eleventh grade. It's obvious that two things happen when one grade is in the middle of heterogeneous grouping. Those kids in the Non-Regents classes are highly demoralized. They tend to be a group of nonachievers which breaks down into two categories: there are those who have high skills and above average IQ's but are alienated from society and in extreme cases may be on drugs; for them this class is a joy ride; and there are those who have difficulties with basic skills.
>
> In the Regents courses, we're faced with the opposite. Fifteen percent in the Regents classes don't have the skills and study habits of Regents level and can't compete. A large percentage of these are Black. They are there for socio-psychological reasons. This is the one year you have to admit inequalities. We don't make the decision. Any student can take Regents if he wishes. So we have two groups, Regents and Non-Regents, each of which has two incompatible groupings. We teach Regents for the Regents level and Non-Regents for the Non-Regents level. If we had heterogeneous grouping, we could plan and teach for a very different situation. The homogeneity is a myth and it hurts everybody.

Although professing a strong belief in heterogeneous grouping, many teachers told the writer that they felt the district wasn't giving them the kinds of help they needed to successfully implement this policy. The Dean of Students reflected this thinking in the following statement:

> Heterogeneous grouping should exist, and is a more encompassing way of approaching teaching. My hesitation is that we espouse the theory of heterogeneous grouping, but we haven't really planned how to deal with it. I don't think we are fully organized to deal with it. The district has a beautiful philosophy on paper, but very little help has been given to the teachers to work out ways to implement it. This is the frustrating part of it for the teachers, and is discouraging for the students. Those at either extreme of the curve don't get quite turned on, because teachers are focussing right down the middle. We don't have any real inservice courses for teachers to prepare them to handle heterogeneous grouping.

Triville's policy of heterogenous grouping is not followed in the Mathematics, Science, and Foreigh Language departments in the high school where classes are structured according to the ability level of students. How this affects the racial balance in these classes will be discussed when the data on the racial composition of the high school classes is given.

Liddon, the Desegregated District

Bordering the Triville School District is the Liddon School District which reflects similarities as well as differences. Liddon High School is about half the size of Triville, with six hundred sixteen students, ranging from grades seven through twelve. One hundred seventy-three or twenty-eight percent of these students are Black. Of the one hundred three seniors, twenty-six, or twenty-five percent of the class, are Black. The main building at Liddon is a traditional looking structure with newer additions stretching behind it. The teaching staff consists of forty-three teachers only one of whom is Black. One of the Guidance counselors is Black, and the school social worker is Black. All of the high school administrators and central office administrators are White.

The Liddon Philosophy

The three page written philosophy of education which is included in the front of the teacher handbook in the Liddon School District is a broadly conceived statement addressing itself to a democratic education, and the need to provide individually oriented experiences for children, to maxamize each child's potential for learning, to enable children to develop the skills necessary to function effectively in society, and to develop humaneness in children. The writer asked thirteen Liddon teachers if they felt the school had a philosophy, and if they could describe it. Eight of them could not describe any basic philosophy characteristic of the school. The five teachers who did feel the district had a philosophy each had a different description of what that philosophy was. These included (1) help each child fulfill his potential (2) be yourself and don't get involved, (3) give students as much as possible, (4) emphasize discipline, and (5) cover the curriculum.

Liddon Teachers' Perceptions of Integration

Of the fourteen Liddon teachers who were asked "Would you call this an integrated school?", ten felt their school was integrated, three did not, and one felt it was integrated in a limited sense. Illustrative of the comments made by the Liddon teachers, all of whom are White, are the following:

> Yes, but only in the sense that they are in the same building and more or less in the same classes together. Assimilated, no. The parents of these kids hated each other without knowing why. These kids have met and don't like what they see. They say, 'I've met'em and don't like'em.' If anything, things will get worse in the next generation. (Male)
>
> Yes. To me, integration is racial balance. We have about thirty percent Black students and we keep the balance. We are integrated, but it doesn't mean a damn thing. It's integrated, but the Blacks aren't assimilated. (Male)
>
> Yes, totally. Integrated as far as the law is concerned, but the kids don't want to be integrated socially. (Female)
>
> Definitely. About as integrated as you can get. From the village group, you get a provincial, largely Italian Catholic population. You get a suburban group from the south end which is predominately Jewish, and on the fringe and in the north end, you have a Black population. (Male)
>
> No. At the second Board of Education meeting, the President gave an opening speech. He said Liddon had much to offer as an integrated community. We have no ghetto here according to him. This isn't true. The Blacks don't live with the Whites, and the Whites don't associate with them. Our Blacks are not poverty stricken, they are lower middle class. But they are not integrated with the Whites in the community or in this school. (Female)
>
> No, not integrated in the sense we normally think it to be. It's integrated in the sense that we have Black and White students, but there's no interaction. (Male)

Grouping Procedures at Liddon

A member of the Guidance department at Liddon High school informed the writer that the high school classes were categorized into Regents or Non-Regents classes, or Honors, average, and low achievement. In placing students, previous records, test scores, and teacher recommendations received major attention. He identified the primary focus as trying to see how students have previously functioned in a similar course. The Guidance department trys to reflect the ability level of a course when placing students, but many teachers complained to the writer that insufficient homogeneity existed in their classes. Some electives exist in the school program, and the writer asked the Guidance counselor if students were guided in their selection of these courses. He replied:

> Yes, but some overshoot and undershoot always. Our philosophy for kids who overshoot is to make recommendations on the basis of what we know. We make recommendations, teachers make recommendations, and we send a notice to parents. But it's their decision if they want the kid to drown. There's a lot of trouble with the status subjects or Regents classes. It's a battle to fight the blind choosing of courses in respect to certain kids.

I asked the Guidance counselor if he was speaking principally of Black students when he described the department's difficulties with students' choosing status or Regents courses for which they weren't prepared. He said that a large percentage of these students were Black.

Major Problems at Triville and Liddon

The writer also asked teachers in each of the racially mixed settings what they felt were the major problems in the school. No consensus is found in the responses from either setting. There were as many problems identified as the number of teachers who were asked. Without further investigation into the settings, and more widespread interviewing, the responses cannot be categorized to provide any definitve information about the settings and are not reported in this study. It is significant, however, that in neither of the schools did the teachers who were interviewed identify racial problems, except in two instances where teachers described the difficulties in meeting the instructional needs of a heterogeneous school population.

Discussion and Comparison

Except for size and the racial composition of the staffs in the two high schools, one initially perceives more similarities than differences. If one examines the data reported in this chapter, however, one begins to penetrate the surface impressions in order to gain a sense of the atmosphere and the nature of student experiences in each of the high schools. The philosophy of each high school provides a useful starting point for comparison.

A fundamental difference between the two schools can be found in the nature of their philosophies. Liddon's philosophy is a generally stated guide to educational goals which could easily be transferred to most school districts. Triville's philosophy is specifically addressed to the ethnic nature of its student body. What this difference implies in terms of curricular offerings shall be discussed later in this report.

One aspect of this difference has already been identified, the difference in the staff racial composition in the two schools. Although the principal at Liddon expressed a desire for more Black teachers, one does not get an impression that the district is strongly committed to balancing its staff in terms of the ethnic nature of its student body. In Triville, this commitment is perceived as a necessary manifestation of "quality integrated education."

Having a specific focus, Triville's philosophy was keenly sensed and acknowledged by the teachers who were interviewed. They were very aware that the district was committed to providing a viable education for a racially mixed student body. Moreover, most of the teachers interviewed felt that the philosophy was being carried out as much as possible. Most of the Liddon teachers who were interviewed could not identify a philosophy which characterized the high school, and there was no consensus among the teachers who did identify a philosophy.

The writer does not wish to make subjective judgements from the data about the impact a philosophy or lack of philosophy could have on what happens to children in the classroom. She does wish to point out, however, that Triville teachers have a sense of a mission to which the school is committed and Liddon teachers do not. It is highly probable that this does affect the nature and scope of the classroom encounters which are designed for students in each school.

The majority of teachers interviewed in both schools felt their school was integrated, but their comments reflect the fact that the word integration can mean different things. Although agreeing that the schools were integrated in terms of racial balance, many of the teachers pointed out that the students were not socially integrated.

On a district level, Triville is committed to achieving classroom racial balance in its schools through a policy of heterogeneous grouping. At Triville High School, teachers in the English and Social Studies Departments value the type of encounters implied in this policy. The Guidance Department at Liddon trys to achieve classroom homogeneity in terms of the ability level delineated for the various courses. The effect this has upon actual classroom racial balance will be reported later in this study. However, grouping procedures limit or expand the possibilities for students of varying backgrounds to interact. Triville's policy acknowledges the importance of enabling students of varied backgrounds to interact in an integrated situation. On the other hand, the Guidance Counselor at

Liddon was critical of the fact that some students, many of whom were Black, were choosing courses for which he strongly felt they were not prepared. Likewise, the teacher of the Triville eleventh grade Social Studies classes which are not heterogeneously grouped felt that many of the Black students were in the Regents sections for purely psychological reasons. In both situations, one finds Black students enrolling in more advanced classes, but not succeeding. Homogeneous situations thus put Black students at a disadvantage. It appears that the schools have not successfully prepared them for these situations, and they are left with the choice of either enrolling in less advanced courses or failing in the more advanced ones. In either case, the stereotyped image of Black inferiority is reinforced.

CHAPTER V

RACIAL INTERACTION AT TRIVILLE AND LIDDON

The Racial Composition of Classes

In order to document the possibilities for classroom contact between Black and White students at Triville and Liddon, the writer gathered data concerning the number of Black and White students in each class of the two high schools. At Triville, the writer was able to obtain this information from the Principal's office. In Liddon, the writer requested this information from each of the high school teachers, and received full cooperation. The data for the majority of classes in each of the high schools are presented in the tables of this chapter to provide the reader with an impression of the classroom racial balance in each school. An explanation is also given as to the achievement level of the different classes.

Triville Mathematics

If one thinks of classroom racial balance as reflecting the racial composition of the school, which in Triville is thirty-five percent, racial balance has not been achieved in many of the Mathematics classes. As shown in Tables 1 and 2, Whites are over-represented in the Regents or advanced level classes, and Blacks are over-represented in the Non-Regents classes. It is not the purpose of this study to probe further into the curricular and instructional implications of this fact. It is the intent here only to provide the reader with an image of the contact that is possible between Black and White students as reflected in the racial composition of their classes. The data in Table 1, the Regents classes, show two all White classes, a Regents Trigonometry class and a Calculus class, and several advanced level Mathematics classes with only one to four Black students in them. In only one Regents class, Trigonometry and Advanced Algebra, can one find a percentage of Black students which reflects the racial composition of the school. Scheduling has perhaps caused the uneven percentages of Black students in the Elementary Algebra classes shown in Table 1.

The picture shifts when one looks at the Non-Regents classes in Table 2 where in ten out of twenty-two cases, Black students represent over half the class. In the Consumer Mathematics classes offered by the Business Department, Black students make up almost the entire class. Therefore, although contact between Black and White students is possible in varying degrees in all of the Mathematics classes except two, racial balance has not been achieved in most of the classes.

Table 1

Triville Mathematics Classes
Regents or High Level

Course	No. of Whites	No. of Blacks	Total	% of Blacks
Elementary Algebra	16	1	17	6
	21	4	25	16
	22	7	29	24
	15	5	20	25
	17	6	23	26
	15	11	26	42
	13	10	23	46
	12	14	26	54
Geometry	15	1	16	6
	20	3	23	13
	22	6	28	21
	20	6	26	22
	21	7	28	25
Trigonometry	22	0	22	0
	20	2	22	9
	22	4	26	15
	23	4	27	15
	20	4	24	17
	21	5	26	25
Trig. & Advanced Algebra	12	4	16	25
	7	4	11	36
Analysis	15	2	17	12
	15	1	16	16
Calculus	10	0	10	0

Table 2

Triville Mathematics Classes
Non-Regents

Course	No. of Whites	No. of Blacks	Total	% of Blacks
Introduction to Algebra	11	8	19	42
	16	8	24	43
	9	7	16	44
	8	15	23	65
Intro. to American Business	8	7	15	47
Business Math	8	16	24	67
Consumer Math I	2	10	12	83
	2	14	16	88
	1	16	17	94
Consumer Math II	5	10	15	67
	3	8	11	73
Plane Geometry	8	3	11	27
	12	5	17	29
	11	6	17	35
	9	7	16	44
	7	8	15	53
	6	8	14	57
Intermediate Algebra	8	2	10	20
	11	4	15	27
	10	9	19	47
	9	10	19	53
Statistics	9	9	18	50

Triville Science

The makeup of the Science classes at Triville indicates an over-representation of Black students in General Science and in the Non-Regents Science classes which lessens the possibilities for balanced intergroup contact in the total Science offerings. Table 3 shows that in four of the General Science classes, in all of the Non-Regents Biology classes, in one of the three Non-Regents Chemistry classes and in both Non-Regents Physics classes, Black students compose fifty percent or more of the class. In contrast, in three of the eight Regents Biology classes, three of the five Regents Chemistry classes, and in the Regents Physics class, Black students compose less than twenty percent of the class. There are no Black students in the Advanced Placement Biology course. Also, such courses as Ecology, Physical Science, and Earth Science which are geared more to the personal interests of students are not racially balanced, and this does not provide for much intergroup contact.

Table 3

Triville Science Classes

Course	No. of Whites	No. of Blacks	Total	% of Blacks
General Science 9	14	7	21	33
	12	6	18	33
	13	9	22	41
	11	8	19	42
	14	12	26	46
	11	10	21	48
	9	9	18	50
	10	10	20	50
	12	11	23	50
	7	13	20	65
Regents Biology	22	4	26	15
	20	4	24	17
	21	5	26	19
	22	6	28	21
	22	8	30	27
	18	7	25	28
	18	7	25	28
	18	8	26	31
Non-Regents Biology	8	10	18	56
	6	9	15	60
	6	10	16	63
	3	6	9	66
	3	8	11	73
Advanced Biology	16	0	16	0
Regents Chemistry	22	1	23	5
	24	3	27	11
	18	4	22	18
	14	5	19	26
	18	8	26	31
Non-Regents Chemistry	12	6	18	33
	6	10	16	38
	6	7	13	54
Regents Physics	25	3	28	11
Non-Regents Physics	6	8	14	57
	6	3	9	66
Ecology	21	2	23	9
	17	2	19	10
	14	3	17	18
Physical Science	6	9	15	60
Earth Science	20	2	22	9

Triville Social Studies

For the most part, racial balance is achieved in grades nine, ten, and twelve Social Studies classes. The department is committed to heterogeneous grouping in terms of race and achievement level, and the classes reflect this. Table 4 shows that racial balance breaks down in the eleventh grade Social Studies classes which are classified as Regents and Non-Regents. Out of the total one hundred sixty-five students taking Regents American History, Social Studies Eleven, forty-six or twenty-eight percent are Black. Therefore, for the most part, the Regents classes are similar in their makeup to the heterogeneously grouped classes. However, Black students make up sixty-nine percent of the students taking Non-Regents Social Studies, and in all of these classes, Black students compose fifty percent or more of the class.

Table 4

Triville Social Studies Classes

Course	No. of Whites	No. of Blacks	Total	% of Blacks
ade 9	32	10	42	24
	25	12	37	32
	24	15	39	38
	24	19	43	44
	19	24	43	55
ade 10	33	12	45	27
	38	15	53	28
	34	13	47	28
	31	14	45	31
	28	17	45	38
	23	19	42	45
ade 11 Regents	22	4	26	26
	16	4	20	20
	20	7	27	27
	20	8	28	29
	16	7	23	23
	18	9	27	27
	9	7	16	44
ade 11 Non-Regents	6	6	12	50
	9	9	18	50
	4	5	9	56
	5	9	14	64
	3	5	8	75
	2	7	9	77
ade 12	33	7	40	18
	31	13	44	30
	32	16	48	33
	19	9	28	36
	26	15	41	37

Triville English

The English Department at Triville High School is committed to heterogeneous grouping on the ninth grade level. For grades ten, eleven, and twelve, the program is elective. Students may choose to take regular year long grade level offerings, year long electives, or ten week electives. Table 5 shows that although the Black and White students are not evenly distributed among the ninth grade English classes, there are no segregated classes, and there is only one instance where Black students make up less than twenty percent of the class. The racial composition of the electives also indicate no totally segregated classes, but in seven instances, Black students form less than twenty percent of the class. On the other hand, few White students have elected to take the African Literature elective. Racial balance in the elective program is obviously affected by the interests of students as they choose courses.

Table 5

Triville English Classes

Course	No. of Whites	No. of Blacks	Total	% of Blacks
English 9	21	5	26	19
	16	6	22	27
	14	7	21	33
	14	9	25	36
	12	8	20	40
	13	9	22	41
	11	8	20	45
	13	10	23	46
	11	10	21	48
English 10	17	11	28	39
	15	10	25	40
	14	15	29	52
English 11	10	7	17	41
	13	10	23	52
	11	12	23	52
	12	12	21	57
English 12	11	7	18	39
	14	13	27	48
Advanced Literature	19	6	25	24
	18	6	24	25
Man and Society	19	2	21	10
	11	7	18	39
Short Story	19	6	25	24
	18	8	26	31
Great Books	17	2	19	11
Expository Writing	18	2	20	10
	17	11	28	39
African Literature	4	14	18	78
	3	17	20	85
Drama	16	2	18	11
	18	7	25	28
	16	7	23	31

Table 5 (continued)

Course	No. of Whites	No. of Blacks	Total	% of Blacks
Creative Drama	16	11	27	41
Power Reading	15	7	22	32
	21	10	31	32
Film	20	7	27	26
	15	10	25	40
	9	7	16	44
Journalism	14	1	15	7
	24	8	32	25
History of Theater	15	1	16	6
	16	2	18	11

Triville Foreign Languages

The sequence of Spanish and French courses at Triville begins in the eighth grade, and these are not shown in Table 6. Therefore, there are fewer level one sections beginning in ninth grade. Most students go into level two as they enter high school. The Foreign Language classes are divided into two tracks, A and B, of which A is the more advanced. Table 6 shows that racial balance is absent in several of the classes. Some of this is a result of tracking. Beyond level one, fewer Black students are found in the A track. Black students compose over fifty percent of the class in both of the French IA sections, less than twelve percent of the French IIIA sections, and no Black students are in French IVA. Black students also make up over fifty percent of the French IB sections. In three of the four Spanish IIB sections, Black students make up over fifty percent of the class.

Some of the imbalance is also due to the interest of students in selecting or continuing a language. There are no Black students in the Italian or Latin Two or Three classes, and there are only two White students enrolled in the Swahili classes.

Table 6

Triville Foreign Language Classes

Course		No. of Whites	No. of Blacks	Total	% of Blacks
Spanish	IA	15	8	23	35
	IB	12	10	22	45
	IIA	25	3	28	11
		14	5	19	26
		11	6	17	35
	IIB	13	4	17	23
		6	7	13	54
		8	9	17	55
		4	13	17	76
	IIIA	14	1	15	7
		10	3	13	23
	IIIB	9	2	11	18
		13	5	14	28
		7	7	18	50
	IVA	4	1	5	20
		4	1	5	20
	IVB	8	9	17	55
French	IA	8	9	17	55
		5	7	12	58
	IB	5	7	12	58
		5	8	13	62
	IIA	24	3	27	11
		22	8	30	27
	IIB	13	7	30	23
		6	2	8	25
		5	4	9	44
	IIIA	23	1	24	4
		25	3	28	11
	IIIB	13	3	16	12
		14	4	28	14
	IVA	5	0	5	0
		11	0	11	0
	IVB	12	3	15	20
Swahili		2	8	10	80
		0	16	16	100
		0	10	10	100
Italian I		29	0	29	0
Latin I		13	3	16	19
Latin II-III		11	0	11	0

Triville Physical Education

On the whole, the Physical Education classes do provide ample opportunities for interracial contact. None of the classes is segregated, and in only two instances in the boys' classes, do Black students form less than twenty percent of a class.

Table 7

Triville Girls'
Physical Education Classes

Course	No. of Whites	No. of Blacks	Total	% of Blacks
Girls' Physical Education	20	5	25	20
	21	6	27	22
	25	8	33	24
	13	5	18	28
	9	4	13	31
	22	10	32	31
	13	6	19	32
	16	8	24	33
	15	8	23	35
	10	6	16	37
	21	13	34	38
	22	14	36	39
	32	18	40	40
	13	9	22	41
	16	11	27	41
	9	6	17	47
	14	14	28	50

Table 8

Triville Boys' Physical Education Classes

Course	No. of Whites	No. of Blacks	Total	% of Blacks
Boys' Physical Education	17	4	21	19
	22	5	27	19
	21	6	27	22
	22	7	29	24
	18	6	24	25
	16	5	21	25
	17	6	23	26
	14	5	19	26
	15	6	21	29
	23	10	33	30
	23	10	33	30
	16	7	23	31
	16	8	24	33
	16	8	24	33
	12	7	19	35
	15	8	23	35
	9	5	14	36
	18	10	28	36
	8	5	13	38
	9	10	29	38
	20	13	33	39
	20	13	33	39
	13	9	22	41
	7	5	12	42
	18	20	38	53

Liddon Mathematics and Science

The Mathematics program at Liddon is elective, and students are required to take only two years on the high school level. Courses are divided into Regents and Non-Regents classifications. Of the total school population at Liddon, twenty-eight percent is Black. If one again thinks of racial balance in terms of reflecting the racial composition of the school, Table 9 shows the Black students are over-represented in the Non-Regents Mathematics classes, and under-represented in five of the ten Regents classes. There is a possibility that the imbalance in some of the classes is due to scheduling problems. However, the Calculus class is totally White, and the percentage of Black students in four other Regents classes goes below twenty percent. Some degree of segregation is thus occurring in the Regents classes, lessening the possibilities for interracial contact.

As in the Mathematics classes, the percentage of Black students in the Non-Regents Science classes is higher than in the Regents classes. Table 10 shows that in five of the eight Regents sections, White students make up over eighty percent of the class. In one of the Non-Regents Chemistry classes, Black students make up seventy percent of the class. These situations do not reflect classroom balance.

Table 9

Liddon Mathematics Classes

Course	No. of Whites	No. of Blacks	Total	% of Blacks
Non-Regents Classes				
Basic Math - 9	17	9	26	38
Business Math	7	8	15	53
Algebra Fundamentals	11	6	17	35
	6	4	10	40
	13	10	23	46
Geometry Fundamentals	15	10	25	40
Intermediate Algebra	2	4	6	66
Regents Classes				
Elementary Algebra	12	6	18	33
	17	9	26	38
Geometry - Math 10	18	3	21	14
	18	4	22	18
	14	4	18	22
	10	3	13	23
Trigonometry - Math 11	16	5	21	25
	19	4	23	17
Adv. Algebra - Math 12	18	2	20	10
Calculus - Adv. Placement	12	0	12	0

Table 10

Liddon Science Classes

Course	No. of Whites	No. of Blacks	Total	% of Blacks
Non-Regents Classes				
General Science	13	4	17	24
	12	5	17	29
	6	7	13	31
	16	10	26	38
	12	6	18	66
Chemistry Fundamentals	15	8	23	35
	3	10	13	77
Regents Classes				
Biology	20	4	24	17
	14	4	18	22
	15	6	21	29
Chemistry	23	1	24	4
	15	3	18	17
	7	5	12	42
Advanced Biology	20	2	22	9
Physics	9	1	10	10

Liddon Social Studies, English, and Foreign Languages

Most of the Liddon Social Studies classes reflect a racial composition which would allow for interracial contact. Although three of the ninth grade and one of the tenth grade classes were described by the teachers as being advanced, the teachers felt that the classes on the whole were heterogeneous in terms of race and ability level. Table 11 shows that in four of the fifteen sections, Black students make up less than twenty percent of the class, and in two of the classes, they make up fifty percent or more of the class. These situtations would allow less for interracial contact.

The English classes at Liddon are semester electives. Students are required to take four full credits for graduation. They are classified in phases according to the difficulty and complexity of the skills and materials. Teachers who were interviewed, however, felt that the classes reflected a broad range of skills. As shown in Table 12 the racial composition of the English classes greatly varies. In seven of the seventeen classes, White students make up eighty percent or more of the classroom total. In three other instances, Black students make up at least half of the class. Both the skill level and the interest of students in choosing courses probably affects the possibilities for interracial contact in the English classes.

French instruction at Liddon begins in the seventh grade. Therefore, only one French I section is offered at the high school level. Language classes vary greatly in their racial composition. Table 13 shows that two of the classes, French IV and Spanish IV are totally White. As shown in the table, five other classes have less than twenty percent Black students. More Black students are found in the beginning sections of a language.

Table 11

Liddon Social Studies Classes

Course	No. of Whites	No. of Blacks	Total	% of Blacks
Afro-Asian History - 9	18	3	21	14
	15	4	19	21
	19	11	30	37
	10	10	20	50
World History - 10	16	2	18	11
	24	4	28	14
	21	6	27	22
	15	8	23	35
	6	9	21	60
American History - 11	23	8	31	26
	20	10	30	33
	10	6	16	37
	13	8	21	38
Social Studies - 12	13	3	16	19
	10	5	15	33

Table 12

Liddon English Classes

Course	No. of Whites	No. of Blacks	Total	% of Blacks
Short Fiction	9	9	18	50
Early American Literature	19	9	28	32
Public Speaking	12	7	19	37
Oral Interpretation	16	6	22	29
Research & Regents	9	3	12	25
Drama Literature	19	0	19	0
Literary Types	15	2	17	12
	10	10	20	50
Basic Composition	12	12	24	50
	15	5	20	25
English Language	12	2	14	14
Advanced Composition	11	2	13	15
World Literature	17	3	20	15
English Language	9	3	12	25
Practical English	13	9	22	41
Basic Reading	12	2	14	14
Developmental Reading	9	10	19	53
Basic Reading	8	2	10	20

Table 13

Liddon Foreign Language Classes

Course	No. of Whites	No. of Blacks	Total	% of Blacks
French I	4	5	9	55
II	13	2	15	13
	12	4	16	25
III	20	2	22	10
	13	3	16	19
IV	7	0	7	0
Spanish I	13	10	23	46
	14	13	27	48
	13	13	26	50
II	20	3	23	13
	7	3	10	30
III	14	2	16	13
	11	5	16	31
IV	15	0	15	0

Liddon Physical Education

Most of the boys' Physical Education classes allow for much interracial contact. Table 14 shows that in only one of the classes do Black students make up less than twenty percent of a class. The girls' high school classes are not balanced as well. Two of the classes have only a single Black student, and in another, Black students make up less than twenty percent of the class.

Table 14

Liddon Physical Education Classes

Course	No. of Whites	No. of Blacks	Total	% of Blacks
Boys' Physical Education	19	4	23	17
	11	3	14	21
	23	8	31	26
	17	7	21	29
	15	6	21	29
	15	10	25	40
	14	10	24	41
Girls' Physical Education	15	1	16	6
	13	1	14	7
	21	5	26	19
	23	8	31	26
	11	4	15	27
	18	9	27	37
	22	16	38	42

Triville and Liddon Racial Balance

In both Triville and Liddon, the breakdown of the Mathematics and Science classes into Regents and Non-Regents affects the interracial contact possible in the classroom. In both schools, there is a higher percentage of Black students in the Non-Regents classes. Although this causes a degree of classroom segregation, there are very few instances of total segregation.

In both schools, most of the Social Studies classes provide for racial balance, and in both schools varied patterns are found in the English electives. The possibilities for interracial contact decreases in the more advanced language classes in both schools. With the exception of three of the girls' classes at Liddon and two of the boys' classes at Triville, the Physical Education classes at both schools provide opportunities for interracial contact.

Extracurricular Activities

In both of the racially mixed settings, the writer wished to gain some sense of the possibilities for interracial contact in the major extracurricular activities. The writer spoke with the sponsors of these activities to secure information.

Sports

Triville's varsity football team consisted of twenty-three players, of whom thirteen were Black, and ten were White. The varsity basketball team consisted of three White players and ten Black. The total soccer team numbered forty-five players of whom only one was Black. The soccer coach also commented that the tennis team has consistently been all White.

Liddon does not have a soccer team. Its varsity football team consisted of eleven White players and eleven Black. Its basketball team had thirteen Black players and two White. Thus, in both the schools, the football teams offer more possibilities for interracial contact among members of a team than do other sports.

Girls at both schools have clubs related to sports' activities. At Triville, a Pep Club consisted of twenty girls, all of whom were Black. Of the twelve varsity cheerleaders, half were Black and half were White. However, of the twelve junior varsity cheerleaders, only one was White. Performing at Triville games was a newly formed Majorette squad, of ten girls; all were Black.

At Liddon, four of the eleven girls on the varsity cheerleader squad were White. The junior varsity squad consisted of seven Black girls and three White. At both schools, more Black girls than White are involved in sports related clubs, and in Triville, two of the organizations are totally Black. The varsity cheerleader squads in both schools, however, provide for interracial contact between Black and White girls and the possibilities of friendships forming.

In both schools, interscholastic girls' volleyball teams had been organized. In Liddon, this team consisted of fifteen girls, thirteen of whom were Black. In Triville, there was a higher degree of interracial contact on the volleyball team which consisted of thirty girls, ten of whom were White. Liddon's intramural program had not been successfully implemented at the time the writer visited the school. At Triville, the girls' Physical Education instructors told the writer that a regular intramural program was held for various activities throughout the year, but there is little interracial contact in these activities as few White girls attend.

Music

At Liddon High School, no choral organizations existed. Of the fifty-five students in the Band, only seven were Black. This group rehearsed after school twice a week. The musical organizations at Triville rehearsed during the school day, and students could elect membership in them as part of their program. The Junior High School Chorus numbers forty-eight Black students and forty-six White. The High School Choir has twenty-one Black students and six White. Thus, the degree of interracial contact decreases in choral activities at the high school level. This is not true of the Bands at Triville. The Junior High School Band has thirty White students and sixteen Black, and the Senior High School Band has fifty-three White students and twenty Black. There is thus a high degree of interracial contact in both of these organizations.

Drama

The Drama Club is the most active extracurricular organization at Liddon. Officially numbering one hundred ten students, it has fifty who are active in producing two major plays during the school year. The advisor stated that this year there are twenty Black students in the club, but not all of them are active. Two years ago, however, the Drama Club had successfully produced "West Side Story" in terms of Black-White relations, and the advisor stated that at that time, every significant Black student in the school had been a member of the club. The advisor and other teachers in the school told the writer that this production had had a very positive effect on the relationships between

Black and White students in the school at that time. However, most of these students have graduated.

In Triville, Drama is an elective offered by the English Department rather than existing as a club. Small productions are given by the classes. Two Creative Drama classes existed at Triville. One had sixteen White students and eleven Black, and the other had sixteen White students and seven Black. Possibilites for interracial contact were present in both sections.

The School Newspaper

The school newspaper at Liddon was not an activity that seemed to interest students. The staff was down to only four White students. At Triville, the advisor stated that much competition existed between Black and White students to gain top editorial positions. Because of this he had abolished separate editorial positions and had created an editorial board. This year the editorial board consisted of five Black students and two White. There were also sixteen White and six Black reporters on the staff.

School Events

The writer attended a football game at both schools. In both instances, the students tended to racially segregate themselves in the stands. The writer also attended a dance sponsored by the junior class at Triville which was attended by about seventy-five students, all of whom were Black. Conversations with staff members at Triville revealed that very few White students ever attended school dances, but they were popular among the Black students. The dances thus revealed the students' tendencies to socially segregate themselves. At Liddon, school dances are not held.

Summary

Although the football teams and the cheerleader squads of both high schools provided possibilities for interracial contact, sports activities on the whole do not seem to be bringing Black and White students together. Music and Drama at Triville do provide situations for a high degree of interracial contact. This is not true of the Band at Liddon. In the past, the Drama Club at Liddon was a strong vehicle for interracial understanding. Contact does occur on the newspaper staff at Triville, but the advisor felt that it was competitive in nature. Dances are not held at Liddon High School, and dances at Triville are segregated situations. The writer had to limit the data she gathered on the extracurricular activities in both schools, and the picture she has provided is hardly complete. It does not reflect the total possibilities for interracial contact, nor does it capture the many instances where interracial contact must occur on an informal basis.

Student Interaction

In order to document some patterns of interaction between Black and White students in Triville and Liddon, the writer diagrammed the seating arrangements in the cafeteria and library, and spent time in these settings recording how students grouped themselves. Examples of these diagrams are found in Appendix C , Page 257. In *Triville*, the writer observed lunchroom groupings on six separate occasions during different lunch periods. When one sits in the lunchroom, one is immediately aware that students racially segregate themselves at separate tables. There were only six instances where the writer recorded Black and White students sitting at a table together. Black students also tended to sit at tables located along the windows which formed the side walls of the two sections of the cafeteria. This tendency sometimes gave the impression of distinct Black and White sections in the cafeteria.

In Liddon, the writer observed different lunch periods on five separate occasions. Again it was immediately apparent that Black and White students sat at separate tables. There was only one instance where Black and White students were eating and talking together at the same table. Black students tended to sit at tables in the front of the cafeteria. This seemed to be related to the fact that a jukebox was located at the front of the cefeteria, and during the time the writer was in the cafeteria, only Black students seemed to use this jukebox.

Half of the cafeteria becomes a study hall and half a student lounge before and after the lunch periods at Triville. The atmosphere is so informal in both sections, however, that one cannot distinguish the study hall from the lounge. Quiet talking and studying goes on in both sections. During seven different times of the day on different days, the writer documented the seating patterns in this informal setting. There were six instances where Black and White students were sitting at the same table. In three of these instances, they were talking together and in three they were quietly studying. Again, Black students tended to sit along the windows.

The writer visited the Triville library on ten separate occasions during different times of the day to document how students seated themselves. The overall impression that one had in both schools was that students racially segregate themselves. In Triville, however, there were nine instances where Black and White students were sitting at the same table. Four instances occurred during one library period when all the tables were filled. In only three of the instances did the students acknowledge each other or seem to know each other. The writer made similar observations in the Liddon library on seven separate occasions. There, there were only two instances where Black and White students sat at the same table and no social interaction occurred.

The writer attempted to capture some of the interaction among students in the hallways between classes. This was not possible at Liddon because students moved quickly through the halls and did not seem to linger in any particular places. Because of the campus like spaciousness of Triville, however, students tended to linger in various areas, and Black and White students chose separate places for their between class socializing. Black students could invariably be found in groups near the parking lot, outside the woodshop, and around the office of the Director of Student Activities who is Black. White students lingered in a courtyard and on a hillside near the portable classrooms on the campus. Of course some Black and White students appeared in all areas of the school between classes, but the overall impression was one of social segregation.

Discussion

Again, the writer is aware of the limitations of the data which have been gathered. A comprehensive study of the social behavior of the Black and White students at both high schools would require much more data and analysis. However, the writer feels that the data gathered does validate the fact that Black and White students do not eat together at Liddon or Triville, do not tend to sit together in the library or in informal study halls, and do not interact to any great degree between classes.

Teacher Perceptions

To gain additional perceptions about the relationships between Black and White students in the two schools, the writer asked members of the staff in the two schools the following two questions: How do you feel the Black and White students get along? and Is there much socializing between the two groups?

In Triville, the responses indicated that thirteen out of the eighteen teachers who were asked felt that they did get along, three felt they did not, and two felt it varied with the individuals concerned. The following responses are illustrative of their comments and provide many insights about how teachers perceive the situation in their school. In each case, I have identified the sex and race of the respondent.

> In a real sense we haven't brought together the Blacks and Whites. At the busses they separate. Anyone who says that bringing Blacks and Whites together is automatically better is crazy. It can reinforce negative feelings. The Blacks don't feel that anything has been accomplished. They are very negative, but it's not true. Relative to what is happening in most schools, we're doing better, but we're failing. (Male, White)

> At the moment in this particular school, on the surface there seems to be a comfortable atmosphere. But they've still got a long way to go to accept each other as human beings. There's a lot of freedom in this school to discuss these nitty gritty issues and this helps. (Female, White)

> I look at them when they first come in, and they mix back and forth. But as they get older, they don't. As they have more social outlooks, they have less and less to talk about. It's unusual when you see a Black and White girl who are friendly. In games they'll play together, and they may be friendly towards each other, but they don't form close friendships. They are more likely to be close around the eighth grade. Around the ninth, they start breaking up. (Female, Black)

> I think a lot better than they did in the past. There are more examples of interracial dating and interracial relationships; and there hasn't been as much criticism by Blacks and Whites about them as there was in the past. (Male, White)

> I think there is a positive relationship between most of the Black and White students. Certain of the conditions that people see might lead them to escalate what is happening here. For example, if you walk into the cafeteria you'll see that the Blacks and Whites don't sit together. If you go to football or basketball games, you'll see groups of White students and groups of Black students. People see this and say that the students don't get along. I don't buy this. I believe that the students have a tendency to talk about things that another group might not understand. The cafeteria is the gossip center of the world, so therefore, the kids are going to sit with those who have the same interests. (Male, Black)
>
> The kids I have seen get along very well. In the cafeteria, it breaks down into Black and Black, and White and White. But the kids talk about things in their neighborhood. There are no real problems between the two groups. (Female, White)
>
> They accept each other, but when it comes to activities, they'll group themselves, such as in the cafeteria or at games. When they play together on teams or in the Band, they get along fine. It is seldom that there are any confrontations with racial overtones. They don't seek each other out, but this is true in the community as well. The school reflects the community, and the children come here with certain attitudes. We can't force them to change. We can only hope to modify these feelings and make them more aware. (Female, Black)
>
> The kids get along. The Whites stay away from fights. They won't cause waves, but the Black students can get very pushy. Maybe they don't know any better. I've seen Black kids push Whites in the cafeteria lines or cut in, and the Whites don't do anything about it. As far as the boys are concerned, they get along because the Whites avoid encounters. (Male, White)

Thirteen out of the eighteen Triville teachers felt there wasn't much socializing between the two groups, two felt there was, and three felt it varied. Again, their commentary provides many insights.

> There used to be more interracial dating before the Black militancy thing. The Blacks are now very angry at those who do date Whites. Sports is the

> most integrated place of all, but even teams such as soccer are all White. Football and Basketball are mostly Black. But for athletes who do play together, it's the best way to cement friendships. (Male, White)

> No. Few White students go to the dances. Maybe White students have other outlets. The Black students don't, so they turn out for school events. The White kids probably have other places to go. (Female, Black)

> Individually they do, but not groups as a whole. (Male, White)

> On the whole, no. Although this is a heterogeneous school, we still have the same acute kind of housing problems. There are some integrated areas, but we still have busses bringing all Whites and all Blacks. The housing patterns don't offer opportunities for students to come to school together. (Male, Black)

> In sports we see some friendships if guys are on a team together. But for the most part in the school, the two groups stick together with their own. (Male, White)

> No. I was startled when I first came here. I was asked to chaperone a couple of dances. The first one was ninty-five percent Black and the second was all Black. It became so noticeable that I thought all dances and parties should be discontinued. I said if we couldn't have a dance that reflected our student body, we shouldn't have them. But I've changed my mind. This is a reflection of the community and the social issues of the times. White families, especially with teenage children don't subscribe as a group to social intermingling. (Female, Black)

> The dances are pretty much segregated. If you go to Pep rallies or things in the auditorium, the kids will tend to sit in thier own section. (Male, White)

In Liddon, half of the fourteen teachers questioned felt that the Black and White students don't get along, six felt that they do, and one felt that it varied. All of the teachers were White. Their commentary included the following:

Not too good. They are farther apart now than before. We're drifting to two societies. It's ironic. Here we're trying to erase that, but segregation can be seen in the cafeteria and in the classrooms. And in the classroom it's a tough situation. White kids may know an answer, but they are afraid because the Black kids will jump down their throats. The teacher has to create a relaxed atmosphere. (Male)

In the Regents classes, they get along very well. The Black students are more sensitive to implied slurs than the White kids are, however. In the Non-Regents classes there is open antagonism. The kids are very hostile. They self-segregate themselves when they sit down and they are very conscious of their own group. During the week if I seem to call on one group more than another, the kids complain. They are very suspicious of each other. It's entirely different in the Regents classes. They are more intent on what they are learning. We have two different schools in this building, Regents and Non-Regents. In the labs, the Non-Regents segregate themselves. In the Regents, they are more relaxed about it. They prefer to work with their own, but they don't object to mixing. (Male)

I'd have to say they really ignore each other by and large. In the cafeteria, the Blacks and Whites sit separately. There is a jukebox and the Blacks dominate it. The Whites never even try to use it. There are few friendships in the school between Blacks and Whites, and they are few and far between. There are a few daring White girls who speak to Black guys. There is lots of pressure from each group, an unspoken pressure, not to speak to each other. (Female)

They don't mingle. I don't think they really get along at all, and it's funny because they come from about the same economic strata. Most of the Whites come from homes with a lower middle class income and most of the Blacks are the same. (Male)

From what I've seen there is a tendency toward segregation. But it's a funny thing. On field trips, there is comraderia. There is also fraternizing between Black males and White females in my classes. If they sit next to each other in class they are friendly. An interesting thing happened on a field trip yesterday. There were six Whites and four Blacks. The Blacks segregated themselves and wanted to be together. The Whites

> kept breaking in on them. In my classes, the Blacks want to sit together. I break them up and they'll say, 'What are you trying to do, integrate us?' (Female)

> They don't. They aren't fighting, but they aren't making it together. Very rarely do Black and Whites independently make friendships here. In study halls there is a Black side of the room, and a White side of the room. In the lunchroom we have the same split. There is little interaction. (Female)

> Generally, they get along ideally. Of course there are days and times and always individuals. A few gangs of Whites cause plenty of trouble and there are Blacks who don't listen to their leaders. But these are individual cases. (Male)

> Individual kids do. I don't see the hate here I used to. There used to be outright hate. I don't think they love each other, but it's better than it used to be. (Male)

> Very well. But as far as interaction is concerned, I would say there is segregation in the majority of cases. It can be seen very easily if one allows free seating. There is almost instant, ninety percent segregation. It's not only carried out, but verbalized. They'll say they have to sit together. The Blacks mention it - that they have to be together, sit together, fight together, stick together. They are very verbal about it. A White student will rarely make any reference to a racial situation. (Female)

> I don't think they do. There are no fights or riots but they seem to avoid each other. (Male)

None of the Liddon teachers felt there was much socializing between the two groups. Their comments included the following:

> I would say, No! There is no normal socializing. There is a breach between them. The Whites are afraid of saying the wrong thing. They don't want to get involved, and the Blacks will egg them on. (Male)

> No. The Blacks want to be Black, to have a Black identity. A White who doesn't want to be racist find himself polarized. An identity is thrown on the White student even if he doesn't want it. (Male)

I haven't seen any socializing at all. (Female)

They get along, but they don't socialize. (Male)

We don't have many school social activities. There are no dances so students don't have much of a chance to socialize. A few years ago some parents moved out of the community because of interracial dating, but there isn't enough to notice over the past few years.

No. because I think it's in their heads that separatism is more important. We'll go to school with you, but don't expect us to socialize outside. In sports and extracurricular activities where there is a common goal, you will get some socializing, (Female)

That's where we missed the boat. The only time kids get together is in athletics. There are few dances. The town is divided geographically. The Whites are on one side and the Blacks are on the other. They don't go over to the other side looking for someone. (Male)

I have no concrete knowledge of any socializing. Even in a classroom, socialization will define itself in terms of social patterns and color. (Female)

Discussion

The verbatim statements of the teachers indicate that while open hostility is not rampant in either school, teachers do not perceive much interaction between Black and White students. Some of their comments imply antagonism between the two groups, and the responses of the Liddon teachers are especially pessimistic about interracial relationships in the school. From these data and her observations in the schools, the writer can only conclude that except on an individual basis, there is little social interaction between Black and White students at both Triville and Liddon.

CHAPTER VI

RACE RELATED STUDIES IN LIDDON AND TRIVILLE

Curricular Offerings Related to the Black Experience

In order to gain a sense of any curricular experiences Liddon and Triville students might have which would sensitize them to the Black experience or to Black-White relations, the writer interviewed staff members in the English and Social Studies Departments in the two schools, and also assessed what was available in the library.

Eighty-six course titles can be found on the master schedule for high school students at Liddon. These include twenty-five semester electives offered by the English Department, and four semester electives offered by the Social Studies Department. The remainder of courses are traditional year long offerings. Being a larger school, Triville offers its students a wider variety of courses. Included in the list of one hundred forty-one course titles are ten-week electives, semester electives, year-long electives, traditional year-long courses, accelerated courses in Mathematics, Science, and Foreign Languages, and advanced placement in the senior year in Mathematics, Biology, French, and Spanish.

Liddon Social Studies

The ninth, tenth, and eleventh grade Social Studies courses at Liddon are traditionally organized into the following year-long categories: ninth grade, African and Asian History; tenth grade, World History; eleventh grade, American History. Four twelfth grade electives are also offered. These are entitled, Issues, Economics, Sociology, and Asian Studies. An African Studies course had been included in the curriculum, but at the time the writer visited the school, the course was no longer functioning.

Because of the small size of the school, the writer was able to interview all of the teachers responsible for the high school Social Studies courses about topics they covered which were related to the Black experience or to Black-White relations.

The ninth grade teacher of African and Asian History indicated that the following topics are covered in his classes: Black nationalism, European relationships with African colonies, apartheid in South Africa, the standard of living in all of Africa, and the geography and topography of the country. His response to his major objective in handling these topics was the following:

> Whether I'm dealing with Asia or Africa, I try to bring the topic in as close as I can to what is real for the students. Let me tell you what I've been doing for the past few days. I've been trying to bring across the concept that Southeast Asia has been overrun for centuries by other peoples, that the natives have been pushed aside. So I talked about a hypothetical situation; we talked about the problem in Forest Hills of integrating lower income housing into a middle class

> neighborhood. Then, I tried to get them to relate to the problems of the poor in moving into a new area. Then we go back to Southeast Asia, and I talk about the problems of the people moving in, and also how the natives feel.

Mr. Brown did not feel there was any general student reaction to the topics dealing with Africa or apartheid, and stated that any response depended upon the individual personalities of the students.

Hired after the year had begun, and after students had already experienced seven substitutes, a teacher of both tenth and eleventh grade Social Studies classes indicated that topics related to the Black experience did not come up very much in her World History classes. In terms of the American History classes, she stated the following:

> We teach American History chronologically, and I bring in the Black-White issue any time it hits. I relate it not only to racial situations, but to political situations as well. For example, when we talked about the American Nazi Party, we also talked about the Black Panthers. The American History course is really American Government and society. We generalize in the beginning and then we get to the facts. We talk about why the nation colonized, and why the Constitution was written, and then we get to the specifics. If the Black-White thing happens to come about, I use it. I'm indiscriminate about it. I don't take it out per se. If any White child disputes the fact that a Black shouldn't have rights, I'll shoot him right down. I'm completely indiscriminate about the color line. I'll yell and scream at anyone. I have found that many of my students, particularly in my eighth period class are color blind. When they get up to talk, they will equalize their statements.

Mrs. Randolph also indicated that only basic texts are used in the American History course, and there are no additional readings related to the Black experience or to Black-White relations. When asked how students reacted when race related topics came up in class she responded:

> There is a strong student reaction in my first period class which is a low achieving group. Being low achievers, they are narrow and conservative and have more of a tendency to have a reaction if they are White. The experiences they've had in their home life haven't broadened them. The Black students in this class sometimes have a chip on their shoulder and will also react. But I don't get too much of a reaction in my other classes.

Another tenth grade Social Studies teacher indicated that she did try to work in topics related to the Black experience. She stated that the course is really European Cultural Studies, and when various historical periods were covered, she encouraged students to look at other parts of the world. Most of her Black students had picked up this option, and had prepared reports in which they related Africa to Europe during a particular period. She felt they had been successful in fulfilling the requirements of the assignment, and said they had been active contributors to class discussion on their topics.

The chairman of the Social Studies department at Liddon is also responsible for teaching two sections of American History as well as the twelfth grade electives. When asked whether topics dealing with the Black experience or Black-White relations were covered in the American History classes he stated:

> The topics are brought in comprehensively when they come up. They're part of the total fabric, part of the total picture. We present the story as it really is, past and present, but we don't lift these topics out and treat them separately.

I asked for some specific examples of how these topics have come up in class, and he responded:

> Right now we are studying the American people. The question is can this generation make a better America? Poverty and Black ghettoes come up as well as the question of rights for the Black people. These are the kind of things that come up. I don't plan them as topics per se, but they come out of the whole picture as we cover areas of American History.

Mr. Wayne also indicated that two of the twelfth grade electives, Issues and Sociology, dealt with contemporary issues, and race related topics such as the Attica riots often came up. In treating such topics, he said he presented the facts and encouraged students to express their viewpoints. Mr. Wayne felt that it was important that the teacher create a relaxed atmosphere between the Black and White students in a classroom where racial topics would arise. He stated: "By being relaxed, you can bring out more answers. Somebody has to have the courage to tell it as it really is. Some won't accept it; they've been taught another way. The trick is to make them challenge you."

The concept of offering a Black Studies or African Studies course at Liddon arose out of a disturbance created by Black students three years ago in which demands were made that Black history be taught. Many teachers pointed out to me that few Blacks wanted to take the course after they had made demands that it be included in the curriculum. Only one teacher interpreted this in terms of a possibility of inadequacy in the way the course was created. She pointed out:

> The paradox is that they have hired a young White woman who had just graduated from a high class woman's college to teach it. How can she tell Black kids what it means to be Black. It amounts to teaching about facts and giving information. They almost had to recruit people to take the class after the Blacks had demanded it.

The young teacher who had been hired to teach the African Studies course, which had been dropped by the time the writer was in Liddon, was most anxious to talk about her experiences with it. Her remarks provide insights about the significance of the course for the students:

> Supposedly I was hired to teach African Studies. Five kids signed up for it and four Blacks actually appeared when I was hired. They didn't seem to be strongly motivated, and didn't have a strong background. I used an African text written by Africans about themselves. This was an elective course, and when they found out that they had to work, three dropped out. One stayed on two weeks longer. I kept the best student, but he finally said he wanted African History, not modern times. With only one person in the class, you would think he would have spoken up sooner. He hasn't showed up in the past two and a half weeks. He felt badly about the fact that many kids weren't in the course. He was most expressive and positively critical for about a month. We won't be offering the course next semester, but will offer Psychology and Advanced Government instead.

Triville Social Studies

The Social Studies course offerings and teacher commentary from Triville High School provides a contrast to Liddon in terms of both the content of the courses and the responses of the staff. In an interview, the department chairman identified three areas for consideration in dealing with the Black experience in the curriculum: the need for integrating topics into the regular Social Studies curriculum, the need for creating separate Black Studies courses, and the need for Black staffing. His commentary provided the writer with a useful orientation to the manner in which Social Studies course offerings were structured.

> This school is probably one of the first in the United States to dedicate its philosophy to integrated education. I'm not saying we've achieved it, but we have dealt with it for fifteen years. This brings up two problems that have to be reflected in the curriculum: integration against a necessary Black identity. Integration has become a problem for the Black students. Our problem is how to meet the needs of integration as well as a Black Studies course.
>
> We deal with integration in the following way. Take a topic such as the American Revolution. In a classic kind of course, the causes and Battles are covered. Our philosophy is, in every unit being taught, the role of the Blacks in the country at that time is jumbled into the unit. In the American Revolution, it's highlighting the fact that five thousand Black soldiers fought. We talk about the New England Black, not just the southern slave. There is no longer a unit on Black history per se. We integrate the Blacks into our topics. We talk about the enormous success of the Black cowboy. In the origins of the Industrial Revolution, there is a concentration on the alliance of Blacks and Whites in the political and union movement.
>
> That's how we try to deal with the integration part of it. The second problem is how to deal with the needs of Black kids who want separate Black Studies. The answer is to set up separate courses in Black Studies. In essence, we concentrate on African History. This was the result of a Task Force deciding this. We did this years before the Regents said Afro-Asian History should be covered in the tenth grade. The Black who is ideologically oriented talks in terms of the Third World rather than Black Studies.
>
> The third way to handle the problem is in staffing. One of the obvious needs is for Black staffing. We have a high percentage in this school, at least twenty to thirty teachers out of a hundred. Unfortunately, not in Social Studies, which is a tragedy. We hired two Black teachers but they are now in Guidance. We've hired Africans

> with a good academic background, but they don't relate to American kids. The staffing problem is enormous.

The titles of the regular Social Studies courses are similar to those of Liddon: ninth grade, Afro-Asian History; tenth grade, World History; eleventh grade, American History. The twelfth grade course is entitled "An Introduction to the Social Sciences," and there is also a course called Advanced African History. The writer interviewed at least one member of each of the grade level teams as well as the teacher of the African History course. At Triville, the Social Studies classes are taught by teachers in teams of two.

The White male teacher who was responsible for the ninth grade Afro-Asian History course indicated that the course began with a general anthropological study dealing with what culture is, the influence of culture, how culture is transmitted, the question of superior or inferior races, and what civilization is. Case studies of the following areas of the world are used: North Africa and the Middle East, Africa South of the Saharas, India, China, and Japan. He indicated that the area I would be most interested in would be Africa South of the Saharas. He stated:

> In dealing with this area, we stress a cultural rather than a geographical approach. When you deal with just geography, you talk about an inhospitable climate, certain animals and vegetation. It comes off as a terrible place to be. It was taught this way for years. We don't neglect it, but stress the great African civilizations of the Middle Ages, Ghana, Mali, and Songhay. These civilizations were the equal of Europe at the time in many cultural advancements. They were very wealthy, and had

> advanced political, social, and economic institutions. These areas have always been neglected. It wasn't even in the curriculum until five years ago. We're now making headway because through literature and the museums the public has become more aware. The intent in the course is to show that Africans had a great culture, and a beautiful history; that people of African descent can look to Africa with pride and be able to identify with what Africa is and was. When we show the breakdown of the great civilizations, kids always ask why Africa is in a situation like today. We answer this by using concepts that can be applied to the whole world. We point out that if certain things hadn't happened to Africa like the slave trade, or invasions from Morrocco, Africa today would probably be a very technically advanced area. Obviously, our objective is to give kids a feeling that Africa was a great place. They don't have to be ashamed of Africa. We're getting away from the Tarzan image.

Mr. Grant felt that the students' reactions to their approach were generally favorable. He said, "When we first used this material, I found Black kids turned off. I don't think it was because I was a White teacher. They were so accustomed to being put down that they didn't believe what I was saying. They acted as if I were making it up. We don't get that anymore."

The two teachers of the World History course, one a White American male and the other an African male who also teaches the Advanced African History course, indicated that there was a great emphasis on European civilization with a little bit about China, Africa, and India. They indicated that the textbook which they used did not talk about Africa, but they used other books to illustrate that Africa was also developing along the same lines as many of the European civilizations. They stated that they did this to give students a sense of perspective, and to rid the students of many of the stereotypes they might still have about Africa.

The response of the eleventh grade Social Studies teacher of American History indicated that many of the topics that came up in class dealing with the Black experience or Black-White relations were unplanned, and arose out of the fact that Black and White students were together in a class. He stated:

> The teacher has to be adaptable and willing to include these things in an integrated situation. You don't squelch it. You might broaden it so the perspective is closer to what you are teaching. In a Black and White school, the sensitivity of the teacher to this kind of thing is very important. It has to be included in the lession, if not in the plan.

Mr. Salter stated that one of the many things included in the course was the influence of the presence of Black people on the country either before or after slavery as part of the American culture. He went on to say:

> We weave the Black experience into the whole history of the country. We don't separate it. The Civil War may be a major unit, but more important is this constant theme. We are interested in the subtleties in dealing with the Black experience. Otherwise, it becomes tokenism. This is our general approach. There are millions of instances. We do all of the things found in Black Studies courses. Our library is filled with materials. We have the Arno series. We have used government funds to buy a large collection of books on all levels, and we have many duplicate copies in the regular library. But I want to emphasize that if we only deal with the accomplishments of the Blacks, it breeds resentment, and both sides get uncomfortable. At every point in the course, we also emphasize the achievements of other groups.

Dealing with methodologies in the Social Sciences, and covering topics relevant to Sociology, Anthropology, and

Psychology, the twelfth grade Social Studies course provides extensive analysis of surveys and studies often related to racial or ethnic questions. Specifically, the students had already studied a reading entitled "Ghetto Rioters" which consisted of excerpts from a 1969 psychological study of why Black Americans have rioted. The study combined results of surveys and considered how myths surrounding riots are developed and why Blacks have used riots as a means of communication.

The twelfth grade teachers also stated that topics on stereotyping, scapegoating, and discrimination with different groups had been included in their lessons this year. A reading which they intended to assign later in the year is entitled "Race Relations: History and Prophecy." The teachers also felt that the preparation the students had been given in analyzing surveys and becoming familiar with scaling techniques might make them either more suspicious of or sensitive to the questionnaire utilized in this study than the seniors at Glaston or Liddon.

Taught by an African, the Advanced African History course at Triville is intended to give students an overview from the earliest times to the present. The first half of the course deals with selected ancient African empires with a focus on traditional government, customs, value systems, education, and religion. In an interview, the teacher of this course indicated he started with tribal history and the physical and geographical features of Africa which cause the different tribes to live as they do. He wanted the students to be able "to think African" - to imagine how it was before the Europeans went to Africa. He stated that Africa today cannot be understood without a look at the past, but added that too many of the students wanted to stay in the past because they found it so interesting. The required texts for the course are: A History of Postwar Africa by John Hatch, Facing Mount Kenya by Joma Kenyatta, The Lonely African by Colin Turnball, and Africa Yesterday and Today, edited by Clark D. Moore and Ann Dunbar. He described his dissatisfaction with the last of these books in terms of its being "slanted and stereotyped." The teacher felt that although the students did not have the background to actually do advanced work in African History, they did get involved in the course. He stated:

> I tell them many stories about African tribal life, and they would rather listen to me than do the readings. However, I do assign books to be read, and they are expected to answer questions. I use two different approaches for evaluating them. They are given a test on the assigned readings. But I also want them to be able to come out of class and talk about Africa. I stress participation in class rather than answering questions on a test. The last exam I gave them was open-ended to try to find out what they know if they can write. I asked them to choose a topic, and outline a lecture they would give to the League of Women Voters. They were at liberty to choose what they would do well on.

Summary and Comments

If one reviews the Social Studies offerings and teacher commentary from Liddon and Triville, one finds similarities and differences. The title descriptions of the ninth, tenth, and eleventh grade courses are the same. In the twelfth grade, Liddon offers a choice of four semester electives, while Triville offers a course in the Social Sciences. If one keeps to an objective treatment of the small amount of data relevant to curricular experiences, the differences that exist are, for the most part, subtle. However, a more intuitive look at the nature of race related experiences and teacher commentary from the two schools leads the writer to feel that more time and additional data would reveal striking differences. At this moment, however, only the data which have been described will be used for purposes of comparison.

A very significant difference between Liddon and Triville in the ninth grade Afro-Asian course lies both in the content of the courses, and in the major objectives identified by the teachers. The teacher at Liddon expressed a very real desire to make the content of the course as real as possible for the students, and he gave the example of relating a topic to a contemporary situation. For the teacher at Triville, however, the intent of the course is "to show that Africans had a great culture and a beautiful history; that people of African descent can look to Africa with pride and be able to identify with what Africa is and was." The anthropoligical approach at Triville as opposed to the topical approach at Liddon also indicated profound differences. These differences coupled with the difference in the teachers' major objectives have implications for the types of exchanges that students might have in the two classes, and certainly imply very significant differences in the way that both Black and White students perceive the African heritage.

One of the two tenth grade history teachers at Liddon provided for topics related to the Black experience through assignment options. In Triville, however, there was a conscious effort by the two teachers, one an African, to use books which showed the parallel development of Africa and Europe, and they expressed a desire to rid students of their stereotypes. Again, one can imply from this that students at Triville are getting a more consistent and sensitive exposure to the African heritage.

In both Triville and Liddon, the American History teachers indicated that topics related to the Black experience often just came up in class, and indicated a willingness to deal with them. It is difficult to interpret people's attitudes and meanings from the text of interviews; however, the texts of the interviews of the two American History teachers at Liddon reflect certain insensitivities. The Triville interview again revealed a more consistent plan for including the Black experience and Black contributions into the fabric of American History.

The twelfth grade Social Science course at Triville dealt with many racial or ethnic surveys and studies. Twelfth graders at Liddon could choose from electives which included Sociology and Issues and which dealt with contemporary which could be related to the Black experience.

The most significant course difference between the two schools was in the African History course. Liddon's response to Black students' demands for such a course appears totally inappropriate when one considers that it was staffed by an inexperienced young White woman. This writer got no indication that serious study about what this course might mean for both Black and White students preceded its inclusion in the curriculum. The response of the Black students to the course indicates that they perceived no relevance or meaning for them. Staffed by an African, the African History course at Triville was carefully conceived in terms of content and objectives, and had an enrollment of both Black and White students whom the teacher felt were interested and involved.

Liddon English

The English department at Liddon had modified the English curriculum for the 1971-72 school year, offering electives in the areas of reading, composition, literature, and verbal skills. The courses vary according to difficulty and complexity of skills and materials, and are categorized into corresponding phases from which students may choose depending upon their ability. The writer interviewed teachers who were responsible for the following electives: Short Fiction, Early American Literature, Twentieth Century Literature, Public Speaking, English Language, World Literature, Advanced Composition, Literary Types, Basic Composition, and Dramatic Literature.

The Short Fiction course was primarily designed for slower freshmen, and the purpose of the course is to deal with contemporary themes. The teacher stated:

> The students are slow, and we try to get them into things they can understand. We deal with a lot of Black themes and this has been very successful. We use stories by Dick Gregory, and part of The Autobiography of Malcom X. A CBS TV play called "The Final War of Ollie Winter" is particularly effective. It concerns a Black man in Vietnam. Most of the themes center around not being able to rise to the top, of not being able to cope with a predominantly White world. We also do sociological problems, but these are not necessarily racial. Some of the composition work is based on themesrelated to Black life, but the writing level is very low.

She felt that students responded very well to topics related to the Black experience or Black-White relations. She stated, "The White kids love it because they can debate and argue. There is a lot of interaction with this, but this is only a small segment of the course."

The Early American Literature course starts with colonial literature, and leads up to literature in the twentieth century. Tenth, eleventh, and twelfth graders were enrolled in the course this year, and although it was intended to be a very high achievement class, the teacher indicated that actually the ability range in the class was wide. She stated, "We cover one poem by a Black colonial poet, Phyllis Wheatley, but no other Black literature comes in until the twentieth century." In the Twentieth Century American Literature elective, a text entitled Dark Symphony is used about seventy percent of which included selection by

Black authors. The teacher felt that this was an excellent text. The same teacher stated that different types of situations arose in her Public Speaking class which sometimes related to Black-White relations. However, she did not plan for this in the course, it was "impromptu."

The young male teacher of Literary Types, a ninth grade elective, indicated that it was a survey course designed to expose freshmen to all types of literature. He stated:

> No Black literature is built into the course. We have only one text, and no Black literature is included. I have been using the Name of the Game Series with my small class. It includes small paperbacks and has a lot of Black literature. The kids love it and in this way I've tried to include some Black literature; but it isn't built into the course if teachers don't do it on their own.

In the English Language elective, the teacher indicated that she would talk about English as a second dialect. She stated:

> For example, Black students may say, 'I seen it.' I tell them when they get into a job situation or a college interview, they should use standard English, but to hold onto their second dialect. They feel ashamed of it, and it's important to reinforce this idea of not knocking it. I don't correct their speaking in class, but when it comes to writing and other things, I have them use standard English.

She indicated that in her Advanced Composition class, the students had to do a lot of writing, and the stress was often on race related topics. The emphasis is on issues "and many are Black-White issues." The same teacher stated that in World Literature there was a section on African

Literature. However, she concluded:

> But frankly, in the system as a whole, we don't do enough for the Black experience. We hit it in a few English classes, but there's so little done. There is very little recognition of the culture or needs of the Black students in this school, and they are virtually ignored in terms of what might happen in the classroom. It's really too bad.

The teacher of the Dramatic Literature course indicated that no plays by Black playwrights were included in the course. He stated that an historical approach was used and "with no major Black playwrights until the twentieth century" the possibilities for including Black playwrights were limited.

Triville English

Major changes had also occurred in the English program at Triville High School for the 1971-72 school year. On the ninth grade level, teachers had emphatically committed themselves to heterogeneous grouping, and had developed materials and teaching strategies. On the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth grade levels, course offerings had dramatically expanded into a very comprehensive elective program. Students could elect to take the regular year long traditional offerings, a full year elective, or choose from ten-week electives offered on each level.

The writer interviewed seven out of the fourteen teachers in the department as well as the department chairman. These teachers taught either the traditional year long course offerings or electives which the writer felt might include topics or writings related to the Black experience.

Two ninth grade teachers indicated that an entire unit is built around Black Boy by Richard Wright. One of them commented:

> This is an exceptional piece of literature, and in this unit, every assignment is built around it; what it was like for the first twelve years of his life. I have them discuss the important questions raised by the book. We've been trying to get at the idea of the inner resources a person can have - that he lived out of pure guts. He was a gifted American writer who dies young. So the main theme is a human being struggling for pure survival. We talk about life and identity. They also select outside books around this theme, and both Black and White lives are covered, the lives of people who struggle and because of incredible qualities survived. Many of the books they choose are racially or ethnically oriented. The written topics also surround this idea. I use poetry to bring out some of the themes in Black Boy, and both Black and White poets are used. We pack the unit with an incredible amount of things. We have a tremendous librarian. If I want three or four copies of paperbacks, she'll get them for me.

I went to the library and looked over the section reserved for this teacher's ninth grade classes. Approximately thirty books by Black authors or related to the Black experience were in this section, and the librarian said the books were checked out often.

A young articulate female teacher indicated that Black women did form a part of the topics and writings in a ten week elective, "Women in Literature." She felt it was important to point out, however, that a book by a Black author should not always be taught as such.

> It may be by a Black author, but the point is that it's about a human being. We use a lot of poetry by Black poets, but often I don't even

> point this out. At times I don't want to say it's by a Black poet or author. I don't want to teach some things in terms of race. We need both kinds of viewpoints.

In an eleventh grade elective entitled "American Shorts Stories," the teacher stated that Modern Black Stories edited by Martin Mirer is used. She said the book contained short stories, or selections, or chapters of novels by Black authors which express the Black experience. Students in this class also get a reading list of the contributions of Black American authors. All types of literature are on the list, and the students use it as a reference. The same teacher indicated that in the regular eleventh grade English class, a collection of Black poetry called Kaleidoscope, edited by Robert Hayden is used. The students also read Ralph Ellison's The Invisible Man, Lorraine Hansberry's A Raison in the Sun, and James Baldwin's Boos for Mr. Charley. The teacher felt that her students reacted very favorably to Black literature or to topics related to the Black experience: "For the Black students it's a question of reliving some experiences. For the Whites, it's something new, and with the Black kids in the room, they have the benefit of their reaction."

The teacher of a popular twelfth grade elective called "Man and Society" felt that the course was very heavily related to the Black experience, "perhaps to the occasional objection of the White students." She said the course stressed the relationship of Blacks and Whites, and Eldridge Cleaver's writings, Richard Wright's Native Son, Herbert Kohl's 36 Children, and Poems of Protest Old and New, edited by Kenseth were used in the course. Some of the topics covered in the course are alienation, prejudice and discrimination, war and violence, drugs and dissent, the generation gap, and the feminine mystique. There is open discussion in terms of the readings, and filmstrips and motion pictures are also used. The teacher stated:

> I want to give them an overview of world society. I want to show them that racism is not confined to their own country. There are many racial implications with the Mohammedans and in Islam. There has been racism based on various interpretations of the Bible. I don't see how you can understand society without understanding racism. My objective is to be able to discuss an emotion packed issue. My classes are all heterogeneous. The course is chosen freely by kids, and I think it's an experience for the kids to discuss topics with such a mixture.
>
> We also cover the psychological effect of racism on the human being, and I stress that unless individuals become psychologically whole, the society can't be. I show how many of the problems we have here are individual problems which become society's problems. War is also discussed in terms of racial implications. In considering the tortue of Vietnamese, I raise the question, 'would we do the same thing to Europeans?'

Mrs. Webb showed the writer some reports that students had written. The students had chosen the topics, but they had grown out of class discussions. Some of the titles were "The Negro in the Ghetto," "White Treatment of Blacks Today," "A People Welded Together by Common Suffering," and "Is it Really My Fault?" One report which was a study on the Attica Prison riots stressed the political and racial implications of it. The student had gone to see a criminologist, and had taped an interview which he played for the class.

I visited a class where a Black female student was presenting a report on interracial dating. She had interviewed twelve people, six Blacks and six Whites including both teenagers and adults, and had asked the following types of questions: "What is your attitude toward interracial dating? Do you think that either race is sexually superior? Is there more stress on sex in an interracial relationship?" She had taped the interviews, and used a slide presentation with the tapes in her presentation for the class.

Two ten week electives, Black American Literature and African Literature are offered to twelfth graders, and are taught by a Black African. He gave me a dittoed overview of the course content of the Black American Literature course which stated that the course was a study of how the Black American interprets and is incorporated into the American experience. Mr. Achebe stated that the students have become familiar with the major Black writers before the twelfth grade, so he wished to familiarize them with a broader spectrum of Black Literature. He stated, however,

> The kids really hate to read. I have to push them. They want the most vocal of Black writers who are caught up in the spirit of the times, but they have trouble reading these people.

This year Mr. Achebe was using the book Three Negro Classics, and was contrasting Dubois and Booker T. Washington. He stated:

> All of them come to class thinking Booker T. Washington was an Uncle Tom. I take an unpopular position and challenge them to prove my point.

I tell them if they want to prove their point, they should find some things to read. I attack Dubois as being haughty and arrogant, acting like a demigod. I tell them to go into the library to see what other people think of Dubois. I ask the librarian to keep a list of kids who get books, and I follow up with an assignment.

The issues that concerned both of these men are issues that concern Black spokesmen in this country today. The stage is the same, only the actors change. Considering the circumstances under which Washington had to work, I doubt if most of our brave and militant heroes today would work ahead as he did. Even Dubois listened to him for a long time. The difference between the two men is in their attitudes toward Whites, and in their methods of approach to the problem. I just want them to look at these two men. There's so much to learn from them. I told them if you really want to know a man, read his writings and what other people have written about him.

I use LeRoi Jones to get them into the Harlem Renaisannce and Wallace Thurman's The Blacker the Berry. I have to confine myself to things they can work with easily. Most kids come to Black Literature class, especially the Black kids, and turn off when they find they have to work just as hard as in a regular English class. (There were two White students out of twelve students in one class, and four Whites and one Japanese out of eighteen students in another class).

My main objective is to get the kids to openly talk about the things they hear about racial confrontations. It's sensitizing the kids to each other's world - sensitizing the White kids to the background and problems of Black kids, and to get the Black kids to look at those things they've been ashamed of and find out what they really mean. I want them to get rid of their hangups.

Also a prime objective is to get these kids to read. They can argue for days, but if you confront them with the written word, they shut up. I want them to see that everything written is not necessarily true. More and more I bring in lesser known writers and try to avoid the most typical.

Mr. Achebe said that in his African Literature course he had used some books which highlighted the racial problems in South Africa, and also used literature which examined the conflict arising in Africans who are educated abroad.

Some of the books he had used in the course were: Tell Freedom by Petter Abrahams, Mine Boy by Petter Abrahams, Ambiguous Adventure by Cheik Hamidon Kane, Weep My Child by Abrahams, The Beautiful Ones by Ayi Kwey Arnah, and A Man of the People by Chinua Achebe. African poetry was also used in the course.

Summary and Comparison

The English program at Liddon does not reflect a well conceived plan for exposing the students to Black Literature or to covering topics related to the Black experience. Although individual teachers were making efforts in this direction, these efforts had not been formulated into units or courses, and books or collections available to students included few by Black authors.

The English program at Triville, on the other hand, contained courses, units, and materials which did expose the student body to contributions by Black authors and to the nature of the Black experience. Furthermore, the teachers at Triville had clearer objectives when they spoke about race related course offerings, and were more articulate about the importance of providing students with opportunities to confront such topics. One can only conclude that both the Black and White students of Triville have far more opportunities to gain a sense of the Black experience and approach to life in America than those at Liddon.

The Triville Library

The Triville High School Library contains about twenty thousand volumes, and in 1969 was the recipient of a federal grant for the establishment of an Afro-American Cultural Resources Center which has to be housed in a seminar room of the library. Since that time, it has been moved to a central section of the main library which is called a Black Studies section. The librarian indicated that the move had taken place because many books were being taken, and the room had come to be identified as a "Black room" which White students wouldn't use.

The resource center was established to provide a place for high school students to do their research on Black History, and was the first center of its type in a public school in the area. The librarian showed the writer a copy of the following objectives which were identified for the center at the time of its establishment.

1. To offer a multi-media collection of written materials, microfilm, records, tapes, movies, and filmstrips that are an authentic reservoir of Afro-American history and culture to be used by both Black and White students.

2. To better educate both races as to the history and cultural background of the Negro.

3. To improve the interpersonal and group relationships between Black and White students.

4. To provide a resource and materials center that can be used by professionals to better their knowledge on Afro-American history and culture.

The Black Studies collection contains a total of about five hundred volumes. This includes the entire

Arno Series, *The Negro Heritage Library*, and books falling into numerous fiction and non-fiction categories. In addition, the collection includes many films, filmstrips, and records. Out of the seventy-five periodicals in the library, the following relate to the Black experience: *Ebony*, *Jet*, *Negro Digest*, *Negro History Bulletin*, *Journal of Negro History*, *Tan*, *Africa Report*, and *Black Americans in Government*. The library also has the following periodicals on microfilm:

The Crisis - November, 1910-1963
Ebony - November, 1945-October, 1968
Journal of Negro History - January, 1916-October, 1968
The Messenger - November, 1917-June, 1928
Negro History Bulletin - October, 1953-December, 1967
Opportunity Journal of Negro Life, New York - 1923-1949
Phylon: The Atlanta University Review of Race and Culture - 1940-1968
Review of Politics - January-October, 1961
Voice of the Negro - 1904-1907
The Colored American - 1840-1841
Freedom's Journal - 1827-1870
The New York Age - 1905-1960
The Negro Worker - 1931-1937
The Negro World - 1926-1933
The Liberator - 1835-1932

The librarian was proud of the Black Studies collection, and stated that it was widely used by both teachers and students and that the library was constantly adding to it. In additon to the Black Studies collection, she stated that there were many volumes in the regular library collection by Black authors or relating to the Black experience.

The Liddon Library

Being a much smaller school, the Liddon High School has a much smaller library than does Triville. It contains only about 8,233 volumes. In addition to size, however, the following data reveal other striking differences which have implications for the kinds of exposure inherent in the two situations.

In response to the question regarding the number of volumes in the library by Black authors or relating to the Black experience, the librarian said there was a small separate section in the library for these books although she didn't believe in keeping them separate. She said, "They were this way when I got here, and it would be hard to get them back into the regular collection because of certain pressures." The small section to which she referred was entitled "Black History, Culture," but the librarian indicated that other types of writings were mixed in. The section really consisted of a small bookshelf located behind two chairs against a center wall in the library. We had to pull two heavy chairs out to look at the collection which included fifty-eight fiction and non-fiction titles. Before we pulled the chairs out, the librarian said there would probably be only a few books because "they steal them." After pulling out the chairs, she expressed surprise that there were as many as fifty books on the shelf and said, "It's just as well the chairs are in front of them. Otherwise, they steal them. They know where the books are anyway." I spent a couple of hours in the library looking through the regular collection for additional titles and found two novels and seventeen biographies either by Black authors or relating to the Black experience. Three relevant periodicals were *Ebony*, *Africa Reports*, and *Negro History Bulletin*.

CHAPTER VII

QUESTIONNAIRE RESULTS

Target Population

The target population for this study included the White seniors at Triville, Liddon, and Glaston High Schools. In Glaston, the questionnaires were filled out in the senior English classes on October 23, 1971 with the cooperation of the English Department staff. Out of the three hundred twenty-eight seniors in the class, two hundred eighty-four were present in school to fill out the questionnaire. One hundred forty-five of those present were boys, and one hundred twenty-nine were girls. All students were White.

At Liddon, the questionnaires were given to all of the seniors at one time in the Auditorium on October 18, 1971. The total senior class present numbered eighty-eight out of a possible total of one hundred three. These included seventy-seven White students of whom thirty-seven were boys, and thirty-one were girls. Twenty of the twenty-six Black students in the senior class were present.

On October 30, 1971, the writer administered the questionnaire in all of the senior Social Studies classes at Triville. One hundred thirty of the one hundred forty-one White seniors filled out the questionnaire. Seventy-three of these students were boys, and fifty-seven were girls. Forty-five of the sixty Black students in the senior class were present.

Black students at both Triville and Liddon filled out the questionnaire which contained a scale of twenty-two items measuring attitudes toward Whites. Their responses are reported in this study as reflecting a variable which might be affecting the attitudes of the White students.

Scaling Procedures

The reader will recall that Likert scaling is used in this study to measure (1) the affect associated with White students' responses to belief statements reflecting cognitions about and behavioral intentions toward Black Americans, and (2) the affect associated with Black students' responses to belief statements reflecting cognitions about and behavioral intentions toward Whites. Quantitative measures are used to relate the observed variables, the responses to belief statements, to the latent variable, the attitude. Subjects were asked to indicate their degree of agreement or disagreement with each belief statement by responding to each item in terms of a five point scale ranging from strongly agree to strongly disagree. For statements indicating favorableness toward Blacks or Whites, Strongly Agree was given a value of five, and Strongly Disagree, a value of one. The order of scoring was reversed for statements indicating unfavorableness toward Blacks or Whites where strong disagreement was given a value of five. A total score was obtained for each subject by totaling the scores on the individual items.

Ranges of Attitudes

Table 15 indicates the ranges of scores obtained from the questionnaire responses from each district. The total range of scores in this table is divided into five categories to reflect degrees of favorability. The total range was divided into the five categories as evenly as possible. This resulted in a category range of twenty-three in the very low and very high categories, and a range of twenty-two in the other three categories. The table indicates both the number and percentage of students in each school whose scores fall into the various categories.

In the theoretical framework used in this study, attitude is a process of cognitive summation. The sum of the responses to each item or belief statement is the attitude or the evaluative aspect. The highest possible score a respondent could obtain by getting a score of five on each of the individual items in the scale measuring attitudes toward Blacks was one hundred forty-five. The highest total from an item score of four, which is still a favorable response, is one hundred sixteen. Checking the unsure or three category throughout the questionnaire would yield a score of eighty-seven. Of course, item responses vary.

Interpreting Table 15 in terms of the degree of favorability or the amount of affect associated with favorable or unfavorable attitudes would mean that scores in the one hundred twenty-two to one hundred forty-five range would reflect a very high degree of favorability toward Blacks; in the ninety-nine to one hundred twenty-one range, a high degree of favorability toward Blacks; in the seventy-six to ninety-eight range, a medium degree; in the fifty-three to seveny-five range, a low degree of favorability; and in the twenty-nine to fifty-two range, a very low degree of favorability. In other words, in Table 15, scores above ninety-nine would indicate a favorable attitude toward Blacks, and scores below seventy-six, an unfavorable attitude. Scores in the middle range would reflect a mixture of favorable and unfavorable attitudes by varied responses to the belief statements.

Table 16 gives the separate results for the boys and the girls, and is interpreted the same as Table 15. Table 17 condenses the ranges of scores shown in the five categories of Tables 15 and 16 into three attitudinal categories reflecting favorable, unfavorable, or mixed attitudes toward Blacks. The very low and low ranges of Tables 15 and 16 become the unfavorable attitudinal category of Table 17. The medium range category becomes the mixed attitudinal category, and the high and very high range categories become the favorable attitudinal category.

Table 15

Glaston, Liddon, and Triville
Summary of Student Scores

		Schools					
		Glaston		Liddon		Triville	
Degree of Faborability	Range of Scores	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Very Low	29-52	14	5	9	13	0	0
Low	53-75	22	8	15	22	11	8
Medium	76-98	93	32	19	28	27	21
High	99-121	104	37	12	18	40	31
Very High	122-145	51	18	13	19	52	40
	Totals	284		68		130	

Table 16

Summary of Boys' and Girls' Scores
Glaston, Liddon, and Triville

Degree of Favorability	Range of Scores	Boys						Girls					
		Glaston		Liddon		Triville		Glaston		Liddon		Triville	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Very Low	29-52	13	9	9	24	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0
Low	53-75	12	8	7	19	6	8	10	7	8	26	5	9
Medium	76-98	47	32	12	33	15	21	46	33	7	23	12	21
High	99-121	56	39	6	16	23	31	48	35	6	19	17	30
Very High	122-145	17	12	3	8	29	40	34	24	10	32	23	40
	Totals	145		37		73		134		31		57	

(Percentages have been rounded off to the nearest 100th)

Table 17

Glaston, Liddon, and Triville
Attitudinal Results

	Boys						Girls					
	Glaston		Liddon		Triville		Glaston		Liddon		Triville	
Attitude	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Unfavorable	25	17	16	43	63	8	11	8	8	26	5	9
Mixed	47	32	12	33	15	21	46	33	9	23	12	21
Favorable	73	51	9	24	53	71	82	59	16	51	47	70

Glaston

Table 15 shows that eighteen percent of the total respondents from Glaston had scores in the very high range, thirty-seven percent had scored in high range, thirty-two percent in the medium range, eight percent in the low range, and only five percent in the very low range. If these results are condensed into three attitudinal categories, one finds that fifty-five percent of the total respondents had favorable attitudes toward Blacks, thirteen percent had unfavorable attitudes, and thirty-two percent were mixed. Thus, the responses of over half the seniors in the all White setting were favorable.

Table 16, which separates the boys' and girls' scores shows, however, that Glaston girls had more favorable attitudes than the boys in the extreme categories. Twenty-four percent of the girls' scores fell into the very high range, but only twelve percent of the boys' scores fell into this category. The percentages of boys' and girls' scores falling into the high, medium, and low ranges were almost the same. However, nine percent of the boys' scores fell into the very low range, while only one percent of the girls' scores (only one girl) fell into this category.

Table 17 which condenses the categories into attitudinal classifications shows that fifty-one percent of boys and fifty-nine percent of the girls had favorable attitudes; thirty-two percent of the boys and thirty-three percent of the girls fell into the mixed attitudinal category; and seventeen percent of the boys and eight percent of the girls showed unfavorable attitudes toward Blacks in their responses to the questionnaire items.

Liddon

Table 15 shows that nineteen percent of the total scores from Liddon were in the very high range, eighteen percent were in the high range, twenty-eight percent were in the medium range, twenty-two percent were in the low range, and thirteen percent were in the very low range. If one condenses these results into three attitudinal categories, one finds a similar percentage of students with unfavorable attitudes as those with favorable attitudes, thirty-five percent and thirty-seven percent.

The picture shifts dramatically, however, when the boys' responses are separated from the girls' in Table 16. Twenty-six percent of the girls' scores fall into the low range category, but none fall into the very low range category. Thirty-two percent of the girls' scores fall into the highest range category. Only twenty-four percent of the Liddon boys' scores reflect favorable attitudes toward Blacks, and only eight percent of these fell into the highest range. Nineteen percent of the boys' scores fell into the low range, and twenty-four percent fell into the very low range.

Table 17 shows that fifty-one percent of the Liddon girls' and twenty-four percent of the boys' scores reflected favorable attitudes toward Blacks; twenty-three percent of the girls and thirty-three percent of the boys showed mixed attitudes; and twenty-six percent of the girls and forty-three percent of the boys showed unfavorable attitudes.

Triville

The attitudes of seniors in Triville toward Blacks as reflected in their responses to items on the questionnaire are highly favorable. Table 15 shows that only eight percent of the total scores were in the low range, reflecting unfavorable attitudes. No scores fell into the lowest category. On the other hand, forty percent of the total scores fell into the very high category, and thirty-one percent fell into the high category. When the results of the boys' and girls' scores are separated in Table 16, there is almost no difference in the ranges of the scores. Table 17 shows that seventy percent of the boys' scores and seventy-one percent of the girls' scores fall into the favorable attitudinal category; twenty-one percent of both the boys' and girls' scores fall into the mixed attitudinal category; and eight percent of the boys' scores and nine percent of the girls' fall into the unfavorable category.

Discussion

In comparing the ranges of scores among the three schools, one has to remember that the size of the schools and thus the total number of respondents from each high school varies greatly. Therefore, comparing percentages can be misleading in terms of the numbers represented. It was the writer's intention to obtain racially mixed settings which were similar in terms of the ethnic and socio-economic status of students feeding into the schools. In the all White setting, the writer selected a community where students were greatly isolated from contact with Blacks. In making her selections, she was not able to match schools in terms of size.

When making comparisons, one must then remember that each school represents a separate case study with a different number of student respondents. In both Glaston and Liddon, girls tended to have more favorable attitudes towards Blacks. This is glaringly true in Liddon. The percentage of students having unfavorable attitudes is also much higher in Liddon than in the other settings. Of the total number of respondents in Liddon, only thirty-seven percent showed favorable attitudes toward Blacks, whereas thirty-five percent showed unfavorable attitudes. Twenty-eight percent fell into the middle range. Most significant, however, are the highly positive results from the Triville district. There were no major differences between the boys' and girls' responses, and only eight percent of the total number of the one-hundred thirty respondents showed unfavorable attitudes.

Student Responses to Individual Items

The writer utilized item analysis in her pretest procedures to determine the items which had the highest power of discrimination between favorable and unfavorable attitudes. This was done to establish the reliability of the scale items. As indicated in Chapter I, the pretest criterion groups consisted of both Black and White high school seniors. Items were selected for the final questionnaire which showed a discrimination of at least 2.00 between the mean scores for the high and low groups.

Even if Likert type scales are reliable, it is difficult to interpret the meaning of individual scores. If an individual checks the "unsure" category throughout the scale, he may have a score similar to a person who checks the most favorable response for half of the items and the least favorable response for the other half. Shaw and Wright point out that "it is important to remember that the interpretation of Likert scores is based upon the distribution of sample scores, i.e., a score has meaning only in relation to scores earned by others in the sample."[1]

Respondents' total scores do not reflect the varied responses to individual items on the questionnaire. Therefore, the writer tallied all of the students' responses to each item in order to find out how they felt about individual items. The remainder of the tables in this chapter are summaries of the students' responses to individual items on the questionnaire. The tables show individual item values ranging from one to five which reflect the response categories for each item. A value of one was given to the least favorable response, and a value of five was given to the most favorable response. As described in Chapter I, the response categories went from "strongly agree" to "strongly disagree." For items which are favorable to Blacks, the columns with values of four and five on the tables would reflect agreement, while the columns with values of one and two would reflect disagreement. For items which are unfavorable toward Blacks, the four and five columns would reflect disagreement while the one and two columns would reflect agreement. The tables show the number and percentages of students falling into each of the response categories for the individual items. The tables thus show how the boys and girls in each school answered each item.

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[1] Marvin E. Shaw and Jack M. Wright, Scales for the Measurement of Attitudes (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1967).

The items were also classified into two categories: those which reflected general stereotypes or beliefs, and those which implied contact with Blacks or Whites. The latter were classified as social distance items.

Glaston Boys

Table 18 shows that most of the Glaston boys do not reflect unfavorable attitudes toward Blacks in terms of general stereotypes and beliefs. The responses of over fifty percent of the boys reflected favorable attitudes toward Blacks on the following items: Blacks are generally worse off than Whites because they lack the ability to get ahead. Black students are as intellectually capable as White students. By nature, Blacks are not suited for most top level jobs. Most Blacks are disorderly in conduct. Blacks are as intelligent as Whites. These boys therefore did not accept negative stereotypes or beliefs in relation to these items. However, unfavorable attitudes were reflected in the responses to items two, five, and seven on the table by over forty percent of the boys. These items were: Blacks keep up their homes as much as anyone else. Blacks tend to run nice neighborhoods down. Most of the problems facing Black people today are caused by the Blacks themselves. Also, over thirty percent of the boys registered unfavorable attitudes on items four, eight, and nine on the table. These items were: Generally speaking, Black students don't make an effort to learn in school. On the whole, Blacks tend to be lazy. On the whole, Blacks have less ambition than Whites. These data indicate the types of negative stereotypes and beliefs held by thirty to forty percent of the boys at Glaston.

Table 19 shows the Glaston boys' responses to social distance items. Their responses to the items on this table which deal with housing or some kind of neighborhood contact are interesting. Sixty percent agreed with: If I were a landlord, I would rent to Blacks and only sixteen percent disagreed. The percentage of favorable attitudes decreased with four other items, however. These were items one, four, eight, and nine on the table. Sixty-two percent of the boys did not feel that Whites and Blacks should live in separate neighborhoods while twenty percent felt they should. Fifty-five percent agreed that it is as desirable to have Black families for neighbors as anyone else, while twenty-eight percent felt it was not. Fifty-three percent felt that both Blacks and Whites benefit from integrated neighborhoods, while twenty-nine percent did not. Thirty-two percent agreed that they would not want Black families to move into their neighborhood while fifty-one percent disagreed, and seventeen percent were unsure. However, only fifteen percent of the boys agreed with item fourteen on the table, White people have a right to keep Blacks out of their neighborhoods.

While fifty-nine percent of the boys disagreed that Blacks and Whites should not date, only twenty-eight percent agreed with the statement: Given the opportunity, I would date a Black person. Forty-five percent disagreed with this item, and twenty-six percent were unsure. Thirty-four percent agreed with the item stating that Blacks and Whites should not marry, twenty-three percent were unsure, and forty-four percent disagreed. Fifty-five percent of the boys agreed that White students benefit from integrated classes, nineteen percent disagreed, and twenty-six percent were unsure. In comparing the boys' responses in the two tables, a higher degree of unfavorability appears in the social distance items than in the items related to general stereotypes or beliefs.

Table 18

Glaston Boys' Responses (No.=145)
General Stereotypes and Beliefs
Attitudes Toward Blacks

Item	Student Responses for Items Totals and Percentages					
	Score	1	2	3	4	5
1. Blacks are generally worse off than Whites because they lack the ability to get ahead.	No.	7	19	14	63	42
	%	5	13	10	43	29
2. Blacks keep up their homes as much as anyone else.	No.	14	56	35	35	5
	%	10	39	23	23	3
3. Black students are as intellectually capable as White students.	No.	8	9	16	63	49
	%	6	6	11	43	34
4. Generally speaking, Black students don't make an effort to learn in school.	No.	13	31	35	48	18
	%	9	22	23	33	12
5. Blacks tend to run nice neighborhoods down.	No.	14	45	29	45	12
	%	10	31	20	31	8
6. Black students have a negative effect on the quality of a school.	No.	9	30	39	55	12
	%	6	21	27	38	8
7. Most of the problems facing Black people today are cuased by the Blacks themselves.	No.	20	45	24	43	13
	%	14	31	17	30	9

Table 18 (continued)

Item	Score	1	2	3	4	5
8. On the whole, Blacks tend to be lazy.	No.	14	29	30	58	14
	%	10	20	20	40	10
9. On the whole, Blacks have less ambition than Whites.	No.	12	35	26	60	12
	%	8	23	18	43	8
10. Most unemployed Blacks just don't want to work.	No.	15	33	42	46	9
	%	10	23	29	32	6
11. A Black man should not be President of the United States.	No.	21	12	27	56	31
	%	15	8	18	39	20
12. By nature, Blacks are not suited for most top level jobs.	No.	9	16	18	80	22
	%	6	11	12	56	15
13. Most Blacks are disorderly in conduct.	No.	9	18	28	76	14
	%	6	12	19	52	10
14. Blacks have much about them that I admire.	No.	15	22	37	61	10
	%	10	15	26	42	7
15. Blacks are as intelligent as Whites.	No.	10	14	21	63	37
	%	7	10	14	43	26

Student Responses for Items Totals and Percentages

Table 19

Glaston Boys' Responses (No.=145)
Social Distance Items
Attitudes Toward Blacks

Item		Student Responses for Items Totals and Percentages				
	Score	1	2	3	4	5
1. Both Blacks and Whites benefit from integrated neighborhoods.	No.	18	24	26	52	25
	%	12	17	18	36	17
2. Blacks and Whites should not date.	No.	30	12	17	60	26
	%	20	8	12	41	18
3. Given the opportunity, I would date a Black person.	No.	48	18	38	32	9
	%	33	12	26	22	6
4. White students benefit from integrated classes.	No.	16	12	37	60	20
	%	11	8	26	41	14
5. I wouldn't mind having a Black family doctor.	No.	16	18	19	67	25
	%	11	12	13	46	17
6. Blacks and Whites should not marry.	No.	35	16	31	43	20
	%	23	11	22	30	14
7. Whites and Blacks should live in separate neighborhoods.	No.	16	14	24	60	31
	%	11	10	17	41	21

Table 19 (continued)

Item		Student Responses for Items Totals and Percentages				
	Score	1	2	3	4	5
8. It is as desirable to have Black families for neighbors as anyone else.	No.	17	23	26	62	17
	%	12	16	18	43	12
9. I would not want Black families to move into my neighborhood.	No.	21	24	25	52	23
	%	15	17	17	35	16
10. I wouldn't mind having a Black college roommate.	No.	18	14	25	63	25
	%	12	10	17	43	17
11. I would rather have White friends than Black.	No.	22	32	66	21	4
	%	15	22	45	15	3
12. If I were a landlord, I would rent to Blacks.	No.	12	12	25	76	20
	%	8	8	17	52	14
13. I wouldn't mind having a Black person as a close friend.	No.	12	9	13	84	27
	%	8	6	9	58	19
14. White people have a right to keep Blacks out of their neighborhoods.	No.	19	17	13	48	48
	%	13	12	9	33	33

Glaston Girls

Table 20 shows that over sixty percent of the Glaston girls reflected favorable attitudes toward Blacks on eleven of the fifteen items related to general stereotypes or beliefs. There was no item where over forty percent of the girls responded unfavorably. However, over thirty percent of the girls showed unfavorable attitudes toward Blacks on items two and five on the table. These were: Blacks keep up their homes as much as anyone else. Blacks tend to run nice neighborhoods down. Over forty percent of the boys had also agreed with the unfavorable stereotypes reflected in these items. The consistency between the boys' and girls' response to these items is interesting when one considers that Glaston students have little or no home and neighborhood contact with Blacks. Like the boys, over twenty percent of the girls checked unsure for many of the items on both Tables 20 and 21.

Table 21 shows that on the items which refer to housing or neighborhood contact, a high percentage of Glaston girls showed favorable attitudes, but like the boys, the percentages varied with the individual items.

Glaston girls and boys showed similar responses to the items dealing with dating and marriage. However, a higher percentage of the girls were favorable in their responses to these items. A higher percentage were also favorable on the item which puts a social relationship on a personal level, Given the opportunity, I would date a

Black person. Forty percent of the girls agreed with this item, twenty percent were unsure, and thirty-three percent disagreed. Only twenty-eight percent of the boys had agreed with this item. Seventy-eight percent of the girls felt that White students benefit from integrated classes while only fifty-five percent of the boys had agreed. Eighty-two percent of the girls agreed that they wouldn't mind having a Black person as a close friend, but only sixty-five percent said they wouldn't mind having a Black college roommate while twenty-one percent said they would mind.

Table 20

Glaston Girls' Responses (No.=139)
General Stereotypes and Beliefs
Attitudes Toward Blacks

Item	Student Responses for Items Totals and Percentages					
	Score	1	2	3	4	5
1. Blacks are generally worse off than Whites because they lack the ability to get ahead.	No.	4	19	9	66	41
	%	3	14	7	47	30
2. Blacks keep up their homes as much as anyone else.	No.	8	39	34	48	10
	%	6	28	24	35	7
3. Black students are as intellectually capable as White students.	No.	0	5	16	58	60
	%	0	4	11	42	43
4. Generally speaking, Black students don't make an effort to learn in school.	No.	3	16	27	62	31
	%	2	12	19	44	22
5. Blacks tend to run nice neighborhoods down.	No.	9	35	30	51	14
	%	6	25	22	36	11
6. Black students have a negative effect on the quality of a school.	No.	3	22	36	46	32
	%	2	16	26	33	33
7. Most of the problems facing Black people today are cuased by the Blacks themselves.	No.	11	27	33	56	12
	%	8	19	24	41	9

Table 20 (continued)

Item	Score	1	2	3	4	5
		Student Responses for Items Totals and Percentages				
8. On the whole, Blacks tend to be lazy.	No.	4	25	20	63	27
	%	3	19	14	45	19
9. On the whole, Blacks have less ambition than Whites.	No.	4	21	25	62	27
	%	3	15	19	44	19
10. Most unemployed Blacks just don't want to work.	No.	12	23	31	53	20
	%	9	16	22	39	14
11. A Black man should not be President of the United States.	No.	5	4	27	58	45
	%	3	3	19	41	32
12. By nature, Blacks are not suited for most top level jobs.	No.	2	7	12	65	53
	%	1	5	9	47	38
13. Most Blacks are disorderly in conduct.	No.	2	4	30	73	30
	%	1	3	22	52	22
14. Blacks have much about them that I admire.	No.	0	20	34	65	20
	%	0	14	24	48	14
15. Blacks are as intelligent as Whites.	No.	0	9	15	64	51
	%	0	6	11	46	36

Table 21

Glaston Girls' Responses (No.=139)
Social Distance Items
Attitudes Toward Blacks

Item	Student Responses for Items Totals and Percentages					
	Score	1	2	3	4	5
1. Both Blacks and Whites benefit from integrated neighborhoods.	No.	7	26	31	51	24
	%	5	18	22	37	17
2. Blacks and Whites should not date.	No.	15	17	25	46	36
	%	11	12	19	33	25
3. Given the opportunity, I would date a Black person.	No.	29	15	38	38	19
	%	22	11	27	27	13
4. White students benefit from integrated classes.	No.	6	8	17	62	46
	%	4	6	12	45	33
5. I wouldn't mind having a Black family doctor.	No.	10	17	25	58	29
	%	7	12	19	41	20
6. Blacks and Whites should not marry.	No.	17	20	34	33	35
	%	12	15	24	24	25
7. Whites and Blacks should live in separate neighborhoods.	No.	2	15	19	62	41
	%	1	11	14	45	29

Table 21 (continued)

Item	Score	1	2	3	4	5
8. It is as desirable to have Black families for neighbors as anyone else.	No.	5	24	25	60	25
	%	3	17	19	42	19
9. I would not want Black families to move into my neighborhood.	No.	5	24	26	49	35
	%	3	17	19	36	25
10. I wouldn't mind having a Black college roommate.	No.	6	24	20	62	27
	%	4	17	14	45	20
11. I would rather have White friends than Black.	No.	18	30	57	27	7
	%	13	22	41	19	5
12 If I were a landlord, I would rent to Blacks.	No.	3	10	31	72	23
	%	2	7	22	52	17
13. I wouldn't mind having a Black person as a close friend.	No.	1	8	14	72	43
	%	1	5	11	51	31
14. White people have a right to keep Blacks out of their neighborhoods.	No.	2	16	11	53	57
	%	1	12	8	38	41

Triville Girls

Table 22 shows that on the whole, a high percentage of Triville girls reflect favorable attitudes on the items related to general stereotypes or beliefs. Over sixty percent of the girls responded favorably to seven of the fifteen items. However, over twenty-five percent of the girls responded unfavorably toward Blacks on items seven, nine, and ten on the table. These items were: Most of the problems facing Black people today are caused by the Blacks themselves. On the whole, Blacks have less ambition than Whites. Most unemployed Blacks just don't want to work. These items reflect stereotyping about the degree of ambition among Blacks and place the onus of problems and unemployment on the Blacks themselves.

Twenty-eight percent of the Triville girls agreed that Black students have a negative effect on the quality of a school, twenty-one percent were unsure, and only fifty-one percent disagreed. Twenty-one percent of the Triville girls felt that generally speaking, Black students don't make an effort to learn in school, twenty-one percent were unsure, and fifty-eight percent disagreed. Also, for item four on Table 23, White students benefit from integrated classes, twenty-six percent of the girls checked "unsure," twenty-one percent disagreed, and fifty-three percent agreed. These items reflect unfavorable attitudes among at least twenty-one percent of the Triville girls in terms of their feelings about Blacks in a school setting.

It is interesting that over thirty percent of the girls checked "unsure" for items five, ten, and eleven on the table. These items were: Blacks tend to run nice neighborhoods down. Most unemployed Blacks just don't want to work. A Black man should not be President of the United States. Over twenty percent checked "unsure" for items two, four, and six. These were: Blacks keep up their homes as much as anyone else. Generally speaking, Black students don't make an effort to learn in school. Black students have a negative effect on the quality of a school. Thus, while the overall scores of the Triville girls run higher than the other schools, contact with Blacks have not erased the unfavorable attitudes of over twenty-five percent of the girls in terms of four of the items on Table 22, and over twenty percent of the girls reflect uncertainty about eight of the fifteen items.

On Table 23, the social distance items, over sixty percent of the Triville girls show favorable attitudes toward Blacks on four of the items related to housing or neighborhood contact, and fifty-nine percent agree that both Blacks and Whites benefit from integrated neighborhoods. The responses of the Triville girls are not very different from the Glaston girls on the items related to dating and marriage. On a personal level, however, their responses are unique as were the Glaston boys' and girls' response to item three on the table. Only thirty-two percent agreed that given the opportunity, they would date a Black person, while thirty-nine percent disagreed, and twenty-nine percent were unsure. Thus, a higher percentage of girls reflect uncertainty about interracial dating or unfavorable attitudes in the Triville setting than in the Glaston setting. As in Glaston, many of the girls reflect uncertainty about item eleven on Table 23, I would rather have White friends than Black. Uncertainty among the Triville girls is also apparent on other items of the social distance table as over twenty percent of the girls checked "unsure" on ten of the fourteen items.

Table 22

Triville Girls' Responses (No.=57)
General Stereotypes and Beliefs
Attitudes Toward Blacks

Item	Score	1	2	3	4	5
1. Blacks are generally worse off than Whites because they lack the ability to get ahead.	No.	1	4	11	31	10
	%	2	7	19	54	17
2. Blacks keep up their homes as much as anyone else.	No.	1	9	16	29	2
	%	2	16	28	50	4
3. Black students are as intellectually capable as White students.	No.	0	4	5	28	20
	%	0	7	9	49	35
4. Generally speaking, Black students don't make an effort to learn in school.	No.	3	9	12	25	8
	%	5	16	21	44	14
5. Blacks tend to run nice neighborhoods down.	No.	0	12	20	22	3
	%	0	21	35	39	5
6. Black students have a negative effect on the quality of a school.	No.	1	15	12	20	9
	%	2	26	21	35	16
7. Most of the problems facing Black people today are cuased by the Blacks themselves.	No.	3	15	12	25	2
	%	5	26	21	44	4

Student Responses for Items: Totals and Percentages

Table 22 (continued)

Item	Student Responses for Items Totals and Percentages Score	1	2	3	4	5
8. On the whole, Blacks tend to be lazy.	No.	1	11	6	31	8
	%	2	19	11	54	14
9. On the whole, Blacks have less ambition than Whites.	No.	0	14	12	22	9
	%	0	25	21	38	16
10. Most unemployed Blacks just don't want to work.	No.	2	12	18	19	6
	%	4	21	31	33	11
11. A Black man should not be President of the United States.	No.	2	5	18	30	2
	%	4	9	31	53	4
12. By nature, Blacks are not suited for most top level jobs.	No.	0	5	10	28	14
	%	0	9	17	49	25
13. Most Blacks are disorderly in conduct.	No.	1	7	10	29	10
	%	2	12	17	51	18
14. Blacks have much about them that I admire.	No.	0	7	15	31	4
	%	0	12	26	54	7
15. Blacks are as intelligent as Whites.	No.	0	3	11	32	11
	%	0	5	19	57	19

Table 23

Triville Girls' Responses (No.=57)
Social Distance Items
Attitudes Toward Blacks

Item	Score	Student Responses for Items Totals and Percentages				
		1	2	3	4	5
1. Both Blacks and Whites benefit from integrated neighborhoods.	No.	2	6	15	28	6
	%	4	11	26	48	11
2. Blacks and Whites should not date.	No.	4	9	12	19	13
	%	7	16	21	33	23
3. Given the opportunity, I would date a Black person.	No.	14	8	17	14	4
	%	25	14	29	25	7
4 White students benefit from integrated classes.	No.	1	11	15	21	9
	%	2	19	26	37	16
5. I wouldn't mind having a Black family doctor.	No.	4	6	9	29	9
	%	7	11	16	50	16
6. Blacks and Whites should not marry.	No.	9	8	11	22	7
	%	16	14	19	39	12
7. Whites and Blacks should live in separate neighborhoods.	No.	0	6	12	24	15
	%	0	11	21	42	26

Table 23 (continued)

Item	Score	Student Responses for Items Totals and Percentages 1	2	3	4	5
8. It is as desirable to have Black families for neighbors as anyone else.	No.	3	5	15	24	10
	%	5	9	26	42	18
9. I would not want Black families to move into my neighborhood.	No.	1	9	12	23	12
	%	2	16	21	40	21
10. I wouldn't mind having a Black college roommate.	No.	1	5	15	27	9
	%	2	9	26	47	16
11. I would rather have White friends then Black.	No.	3	20	18	16	0
	%	5	35	32	28	0
12. If I were a landlord, I would rent to Blacks.	No.	0	2	13	33	9
	%	0	4	22	58	16
13. I wouldn't mind having a Black person as a close friend.	No.	0	2	8	31	16
	%	0	4	14	54	28
14. White people have a right to keep Blacks out of their neighborhoods.	No.	1	5	8	26	17
	%	2	9	14	46	29

Triville Boys

The Triville boys show highly favorable attitudes toward Blacks in their responses to items related to general stereotypes and beliefs. There is no item where at least twenty percent of the boys responded unfavorably, and twenty percent or more of the boys checked the unsure category in only three of the fifteen items on Table 24. Also, a higher percentage of the Triville boys were favorable in their responses to the items reflecting feelings about Blacks in a school setting than the girls.

On Table 25, the social distance items, over sixty percent of the boys responded favorably to the items related to housing or neighborhood contact. The boys are not as uncertain as the Triville girls in their responses to items on this table. The boys checked "unsure" only on items three, eight, and eleven. These items were: Given the opportunity, I would date a Black person. It is as desirable to have Black families for neighbors as anyone else. I would rather have White friends than Black. Ninety-three percent of the boys agreed that they wouldn't mind having a Black person as a close friend and eighty-four percent agreed that they wouldn't mind having a Black college roommate.

The Triville boys have the highest percentage of favorable responses of the groups discussed thus far in terms of the items related to dating and marriage. Fifty-four percent agreed with the statement, Given the opportunity, I would date a Black person, as compared to thirty-two percent of the girls. Only twelve percent of the boys disagreed with this statement while thirty-nine percent of the girls had disagreed. This is counter to the trend in Glaston where a higher percentage of the girls responded favorably to this item than boys.

Table 24

Triville Boys' Responses (No.=73)
General Stereotypes and Beliefs
Attitudes Toward Blacks

Item	Student Responses for Items Totals and Percentages					
	Score	1	2	3	4	5
1. Blacks are generally worse off than Whites because they lack the ability to get ahead.	No.	2	5	7	28	31
	%	3	7	9	39	42
2. Blacks keep up their homes as much as anyone else.	No.	1	4	15	39	14
	%	1	5	21	54	19
3. Black students are as intellectually capable as White students.	No.	1	3	6	30	33
	%	1	4	8	42	45
4. Generally speaking, Black students don't make an effort to learn in school.	No.	3	7	10	38	15
	%	4	9	14	53	21
5. Blacks tend to run nice neighborhoods down.	No.	2	8	15	31	17
	%	3	11	21	42	23
6. Black students have a negative effect on the quality of a school.	No.	1	11	10	27	24
	%	1	15	14	37	33
7. Most of the problems facing Black people today are cuased by the Blacks themselves.	No.	4	5	10	39	15
	%	5	7	14	53	21

Table 24 (continued)

Item	Score	1	2	3	4	5
		Student Responses for Items Totals and Percentages				
8. On the whole, Blacks tend to be lazy.	No.	0	10	7	33	23
	%	0	14	10	45	31
9. On the whole, Blacks have less ambition than Whites.	No.	1	9	14	26	23
	%	1	12	19	36	31
10. Most unemployed Blacks just don't want to work.	No.	0	10	13	33	17
	%	0	14	18	45	23
11. A Black man should not be President of the United States.	No.	2	3	12	30	26
	%	3	4	16	41	36
12. By nature, Blacks are not suited for most top level jobs.	No.	0	2	14	28	29
	%	0	3	19	38	40
13. Most Blacks are disorderly in conduct.	No.	0	5	12	32	24
	%	0	7	16	43	34
14. Blacks have much about them that I admire.	No.	0	9	21	30	13
	%	0	12	29	41	18
15. Blacks are as intelligent as Whites.	No.	1	4	6	32	30
	%	1	6	8	43	42

Table 25

Triville Boys' Responses (No.=73)
Social Distance Items
Attitudes Toward Blacks

Item	Student Responses for Items Totals and Percentages					
	Score	1	2	3	4	5
1. Both Blacks and Whites benefit from integrated neighborhoods.	No.	3	10	13	32	15
	%	4	14	18	43	21
2. Blacks and Whites should not date.	No.	3	3	10	32	25
	%	4	4	14	43	34
3. Given the opportunity, I would date a Black person.	No.	6	3	24	28	12
	%	8	4	33	38	16
4. White students benefit from integrated classes.	No.	1	7	14	33	18
	%	1	10	19	45	25
5. I wouldn't mind having a Black family doctor.	No.	1	1	7	47	17
	%	1	1	10	65	23
6. Blacks and Whites should not marry.	No.	5	3	14	33	18
	%	7	4	19	45	25
7. Whites and Blacks should live in separate neighborhoods.	No.	2	5	10	39	15
	%	3	7	14	53	21

Table 25 (continued)

Item	Score	1	2	3	4	5
8. It is as desirable to have Black families for neighbors as anyone else.	No.	5	5	17	27	19
	%	7	7	23	37	26
9. I would not want Black families to move into my neighborhood.	No.	2	8	10	25	28
	%	3	11	14	34	38
10. I wouldn't mind having a Black college roommate.	No.	0	3	9	38	23
	%	0	4	12	53	31
11. I would rather have White friends than Black.	No.	5	14	29	21	4
	%	7	19	40	29	5
12. If I were a landlord, I would rent to Blacks.	No.	0	12	7	28	26
	%	0	16	9	39	36
13. I wouldn't mind having a Black person as a close friend.	No.	0	0	5	35	33
	%	0	0	7	48	45
14. White people have a right to keep Blacks out of their neighborhoods.	No.	3	2	8	20	40
	%	4	3	11	28	54

(Column group heading over Score 1–5: Student Responses for Items Totals and Percentages)

Liddon Girls

Few of the thirty-one Liddon girls who filled out the questionnaire showed uncertainty in their responses. There are no items in either Table 26 or 27 where at least twenty percent of the girls checked "unsure." Over thirty-five percent of the girls responded unfavorably on eight of the fifteen items related to general stereotypes or beliefs. On the other hand, over sixty percent of the girls responded favorably on eight of the fifteen items as well. Attitudes of the girls in Liddon tended to be more clear cut than in the other settings.

A very strange pattern appears in responses to items three and fifteen on the table of general stereotypes. Ninety-one percent of the girls felt that Black students were as intellectually capable as Whites but fifty-eight percent of the girls disagreed that Blacks are as intelligent as Whites. This inconsistency is difficult to explain. Also, fifty-eight percent of the Liddon girls felt that most of the problems facing Black people today are caused by the Blacks themselves.

On the social distance table, over sixty-six percent of the Liddon girls' responses were favorable toward Blacks on four of the six items related to housing or neighborhood contact. However, fifty-five percent disagreed that it is as desirable to have Black families for neighbors as anyone else and fifty-five percent also disagreed that if they were a landlord they would rent to Blacks. Their responses to these items showed a higher percentage of unfavorability than the other schools. Most of the Liddon girls are favorable in their attitudes toward dating and marriage between Blacks and Whites, and sixty-five percent agreed that given the opportunity, they would date a Black person while twenty-six percent disagreed. Only thirty-nine percent agreed that White students benefit from integrated classes while forty-nine percent disagreed. Also, in Table 26, over thirty percent of the girls felt that Black students have a negative effect on the quality of a school and that generally speaking, Black students don't make an effort to learn in school. These responses reflect negative feelings about Blacks in a school setting. Only thirty-two percent of the Liddon girls agreed that they wouldn't mind having a Black person as a close friend while sixty-one percent disagreed. Also, only thirty-nine percent of the girls indicated they wouldn't mind having a Black college roommate while fifty-eight percent disagreed. There are thus many instances of unfavorable attitudes in the Liddon girls' responses to the items on the social distance table.

Table 26

Liddon Girls' Responses (No.=31)
General Stereotypes and Beliefs
Attitudes Toward Blacks

Item	Score	1	2	3	4	5
		Student Responses for Items Totals and Percentages				
1. Blacks are generally worse off than Whites because they lack the ability to get ahead.	No.	0	5	2	11	13
	%	0	16	6	36	42
2. Blacks keep up their homes as much as anyone else.	No.	1	10	5	10	5
	%	3	32	16	32	16
3. Black students are as intellectually capable as White students.	No.	1	2	0	15	13
	%	3	6	0	49	42
4. Generally speaking, Black students don't make an effort to learn in school.	No.	1	11	0	12	7
	%	3	36	0	39	22
5. Blacks tend to run nice neighborhoods down.	No.	0	11	3	10	7
	%	0	36	10	32	22
6. Black students have a negative effect on the quality of a school.	No.	1	8	4	10	8
	%	3	26	13	32	26
7. Most of the problems facing Black people today are cuased by the Blacks themselves.	No.	2	16	4	6	3
	%	6	52	13	19	10

Table 26 (continued)

Item	Score	Student Responses for Items Totals and Percentages 1	2	3	4	5
8. On the whole, Blacks tend to be lazy.	No.	1	10	1	10	9
	%	3	32	3	32	29
9. On the whole, Blacks have less ambition than Whites.	No.	2	9	1	10	9
	%	6	29	3	32	29
10. Most unemployed Blacks just don't want to work.	No.	1	11	2	13	4
	%	3	36	6	42	13
11. A Black man should not be President of the United States.	No.	0	6	2	13	10
	%	0	19	6	42	32
12. By nature, Blacks are not suited for most top level jobs.	No.	0	5	3	13	10
	%	0	16	10	42	32
13. Most Blacks are disorderly in conduct.	No.	0	10	1	12	8
	%	0	32	3	39	26
14. Blacks have much about them that I admire.	No.	1	13	1	12	4
	%	3	42	3	39	13
15. Blacks are as intelligent as Whites.	No.	4	14	0	8	5
	%	13	45	0	26	16

Table 27

Liddon Girls' Responses (No.=31)
Social Distance Items
Attitudes Toward Blacks

Item		Student Responses for Items Totals and Percentages				
	Score	1	2	3	4	5
1. Both Blacks and Whites benefit from integrated neighborhoods.	No.	1	7	4	10	9
	%	3	23	13	32	29
2. Blacks and Whites should not date.	No.	3	4	3	9	12
	%	10	13	10	29	39
3. Given the opportunity, I would date a Black person.	No.	3	5	3	9	11
	%	10	16	10	29	36
4. White students benefit from integrated classes.	No.	3	12	4	8	4
	%	10	39	13	26	13
5. I wouldn't mind having a Black family doctor.	No.	5	9	5	4	8
	%	16	29	16	13	26
6. Blacks and Whites should not marry.	No.	2	6	2	13	8
	%	6	19	6	42	26
7. Whites and Blacks should live in separate neighborhoods.	No.	1	5	1	13	11
	%	3	16	3	42	36

Table 27 (continued)

Item		Student Responses for Items Totals and Percentages				
	Score	1	2	3	4	5
8. It is as desirable to have Black families for neighbors as anyone else.	No.	3	14	1	8	5
	%	10	45	3	26	16
9. I would not want Black families to move into my neighborhood.	No.	1	6	3	13	8
	%	3	19	10	42	26
10. I wouldn't mind having a Black college roommate.	No.	6	12	1	8	4
	%	19	39	3	26	13
11. I would rather have White friends than Black.	No.	6	8	6	10	1
	%	19	26	19	32	3
12. If I were a landlord, I would rent to Blacks.	No.	6	11	4	5	5
	%	19	36	13	16	16
13. I wouldn't mind having a Black person as a close friend.	No.	9	10	2	5	5
	%	29	32	6	16	16
14. White people have a right to keep Blacks out of their neighborhoods.	No.	0	5	1	10	15
	%	0	16	3	32	48

Liddon Boys

The responses of at least thirty-five percent of the Liddon boys were unfavorable for every item related to general stereotypes or beliefs, Table 28. Over sixty percent of the boys responded unfavorably to items four, five, and eight. These items were: Generally speaking, Black students don't make an effort to learn in school. Blacks tend to run nice neighborhoods down. On the whole, Blacks tend to be lazy. Over fifty percent of the boys responded unfavorably to items two and fourteen, Blacks keep up their homes as much as anyone else, and Blacks have much about them that I admire. Also, over forty percent of the boys responded unfavorably toward Blacks on seven other items. These were items three, six, eight, nine, ten, eleven, and thirteen on the table. For most of the items, more of the Liddon boys showed uncertainty than the Liddon girls, and over twenty percent of the boys checked "unsure" for items nine, ten, and fourteen: On the whole, Blacks have less ambition than Whites. Most unemployed Blacks just don't want to work. Blacks have much about them that I admire.

On the social distance table, Table 29, over twenty percent of the boys checked "unsure" for items one, three, six, and eleven. These were: Both Blacks and Whites benefit from integrated neighborhoods. Given the opportunity I would date a Black person. Blacks and Whites should not marry. I would rather have White friends than Black. A higher percentage of Liddon boys than girls responded unfavorably toward Blacks on items one, seven, eight, and nine which refer to housing or neighborhood contact. However, fifty-four percent of the boys agreed that if they were a landlord, they would rent to Blacks, and fifty-seven percent disagreed with the item which stated that White people have a right to keep Blacks out of their neighborhoods.

Over fifty percent of the Liddon boys are against dating and marriage between Blacks and Whites, and of all the respondents, they have the highest number of unfavorable responses to item three, Given the opportunity, I would date a Black person. Sixty-two percent disagreed, thirty percent were unsure, and only eight percent agreed. Only forty percent of the Liddon boys feel that White students benefit from integrated classes while forty-four percent did not. Fifty-nine percent of the Liddon boys agreed that they preferred White friends to Black, thirty percent were unsure, and eleven percent disagreed. Sixty-six percent of the Liddon boys felt that generally speaking, Black students don't make an effort to learn in school, and forty-eight percent felt that Black students have a negative effect on the quality of a school. Forty-six percent of the boys agreed that they wouldn't mind having a Black college roommate while forty-four percent disagreed. Thus, in both items related to general stereotypes and beliefs, and in the social distance items high percentages of the Liddon boys have unfavorable attitudes toward Blacks.

Table 28

Liddon Boys' Responses (No.=37)
General Stereotypes and Beliefs
Attitudes Toward Blacks

Item	Student Responses for Items Totals and Percentages					
	Score	1	2	3	4	5
1. Blacks are generally worse off than Whites because they lack the ability to get ahead.	No.	4	9	2	13	9
	%	11	24	5	33	24
2. Blacks keep up their homes as much as anyone else.	No.	3	18	4	10	2
	%	8	49	11	27	5
3. Black students are as intellectually capable as White students.	No.	5	12	0	12	8
	%	14	33	0	32	21
4. Generally speaking, Black students don't make an effort to learn in school.	No.	6	19	3	5	4
	%	16	51	8	14	11
5. Blacks tend to run nice neighborhoods down.	No.	8	17	4	7	1
	%	21	46	11	19	3
6. Black students have a negative effect on the quality of a school.	No.	4	14	5	12	2
	%	11	37	14	33	5
7. Most of the problems facing Black people today are cuased by the Blacks themselves.	No.	9	14	4	9	1
	%	24	37	11	24	3

Table 28 (continued)

Item	Score	Student Responses for Items Totals and Percentages 1	2	3	4	5
8. On the whole, Blacks tend to be lazy.	No.	4	12	7	12	2
	%	11	32	19	32	5
9. On the whole, Blacks have less ambition than Whites.	No.	6	13	8	8	2
	%	16	33	22	22	5
10. Most unemployed Blacks just don't want to work.	No.	10	8	9	8	2
	%	27	22	24	22	5
11. A Black man should not be President of the United States.	No.	8	8	5	11	5
	%	22	22	13	30	14
12. By nature, Blacks are not suited for most top level jobs.	No.	3	11	6	11	6
	%	8	30	16	30	16
13. Most Blacks are disorderly in conduct.	No.	3	14	6	11	3
	%	8	37	16	30	8
14. Blacks have much about them that I admire.	No.	6	14	8	8	1
	%	16	37	22	22	3
15. Blacks are as intelligent as Whites.	No.	4	9	1	15	8
	%	11	24	3	41	22

Table 29

Liddon Boys' Responses (No.=37)
Social Distance Items
Attitudes Toward Blacks

Item	Student Responses for Items Totals and Percentages Score	1	2	3	4	5
1. Both Blacks and Whites benefit from integrated neighborhoods.	No.	8	10	8	8	3
	%	22	27	22	22	8
2. Blacks and Whites should not date.	No.	13	7	6	9	2
	%	33	19	16	24	5
3. Given the opportunity, I would date a Black person.	No.	18	5	11	2	1
	%	48	14	30	5	3
4. White students benefit from integrated classes.	No.	4	13	5	12	3
	%	11	33	14	32	8
5. I wouldn't mind having a Black family doctor.	No.	9	8	1	12	7
	%	24	22	3	32	19
6. Blacks and Whites should not marry.	No.	15	5	9	7	1
	%	41	14	24	19	3
7. Whites and Blacks should live in separate neighborhoods.	No.	8	8	6	11	4
	%	22	22	16	30	11

Table 29 (continued)

Item	Score	1	2	3	4	5
8. It is as desirable to have Black families for neighbors as anyone else.	No.	6	13	7	7	4
	%	16	33	19	19	11
9. I would not want Black families to move into my neighborhood.	No.	9	7	7	11	3
	%	24	19	19	30	8
10. I wouldn't mind having a Black college roommate.	No.	11	5	4	12	5
	%	30	14	11	32	14
11. I would rather have White friends than Black.	No.	12	10	11	4	0
	%	32	27	30	11	0
12. If I were a landlord, I would rent to Blacks.	No.	9	4	4	17	3
	%	24	11	11	46	8
13. I wouldn't mind having a Black person as a close friend.	No.	7	6	6	12	6
	%	19	16	16	32	16
14. White people have a right to keep Blacks out of their neighborhoods.	No.	8	5	3	11	10
	%	21	14	8	30	27

Responses of the Black Students

Because of the relatively small number of Black senior students in each of the racially mixed high schools, the writer decided not to use percentages in her analysis of the data. In Triville, a total of forty-five Black students filled out the questionnaire, twenty-seven of whom were girls, and eighteen of whom were boys. In Liddon, twenty Black students filled out the questionnaire, twelve of whom were girls and eight of whom were boys. With such small numbers of students, ranges of scores are less meaningful. Thus, the tables are a summary of the item analysis results, and also indicate the total scores achieved by the students for each item. These scores can be compared to the highest and lowest possible scores to give the reader an idea of the favorability of total student attitudes on each item.

Triville Girls

The highest possible item score for the twenty-seven Triville girls, choosing a response with a value of five, would be one hundred thirty-five. Choosing a response with a value of four would yield a total item score of one hundred eight for twenty-seven girls. An item value of three would yield a total of sixty-five. Twenty-seven would obviously be the lowest possible score, and an unfavorable item response of two would yield a score of fifty-four. Scores, of course, varied. These totals are only given as reference points.

The total item scores of the Triville girls tend to be in a middle range, and are not very high nor very low. Several of the Triville girls checked the "unsure" category on many of the items which makes the attitudinal favorability of the total scores difficult to classify as either positive or negative. For example, at least nine, or one third, of the girls checked "unsure" for half of the items on Table 30. Over half the girls disagreed that White teachers are generally as fair to Black students as they are to White, and over half of them agreed with the statement that Whites only accept Blacks who think and act like Whites. Over half of the girls also responded unfavorably toward Whites on items five, six, seven, and ten on Table 30. These items were: Given the opportunity, most Whites will cheat Black people. Whites have much about them that I admire. Whites are only friendly to Blacks when they want something out of them. On the whole, White people are fair and honest.

The total item scores for the social distance items are higher than for those related to general stereotypes or beliefs. This is counter to the pattern of the White students. Most of the Black girls at Triville do not object to dating and marriage between Blacks and Whites, but ten girls disagreed with item three, Given the opportunity, I would date a White person, seven checked "unsure," while nine of them agreed. Item scores were also comparatively low for items six and ten. Over half of the Triville girls would not mind having a White college roommate, but thirteen checked "unsure" to item eight, I wouldn't mind having a White person as a close friend. Nine of the twenty-seven girls did not feel that White people are capable of being close friends with Blacks, item ten.

The responses of the Black girls in the senior class at Triville indicate that while many of them hold unfavorable attitudes toward Whites in terms of general stereotypes and beliefs, most of their social distance attitudes toward Whites are favorable.

Table 30

Triville Girls' Responses (No.=27)
General Stereotypes and Beliefs
Attitudes Toward Whites

Item	Student Responses for Items Total Scores					
	Score	1	2	3	4	5
1. On the whole, White people are less prejudiced today than they used to be.	No.	1	9	4	12	0
					Total	79
2. Most White people say one thing and do the opposite.	No.	6	6	10	5	0
					Total	68
3. White teachers are generally as fair to Black students as they are to White.	No.	1	14	9	3	0
					Total	68
4. Most Whites can be trusted.	No.	5	7	11	4	0
					Total	68
5. Given the opportunity, most Whites will cheat Black people.	No.	7	10	8	2	0
					Total	59
6. Whites have much about them that I admire.	No.	14	4	5	4	0
					Total	53
7. Whites are only friendly to Blacks when they want something out of them.	No.	3	13	4	5	2
					Total	71

Table 30 (continued)

Item	Student Responses for Items Total Scores Score	1	2	3	4	5
8. Most Whites are racists.	No.	1	7	8	9	2
					Total	85
9. The world would be a better place without White people.	No.	3	1	10	7	6
					Total	93
10. On the whole, White people are fair and honest.	No.	3	13	9	1	1
					Total	65
11. Whites only accept Blacks who think and act like Whites.	No.	6	11	4	3	3
					Total	67
12. Most Whites wish that slavery still existed.	No.	2	11	9	3	2
					Total	73

Table 31

Triville Girls' Responses (No.=27)
Social Distance Items
Attitudes Toward Whites

Item	Student Responses for Items Total Scores					
	Score	1	2	3	4	5
1. Black students are better off if they stay away from their White classmates.	No.	4	0	1	10	12
					Total	107
2. Blacks and Whites should not date.	No.	4	1	1	9	12
					Total	105
3. Given the opportunity, I would date a White person.	No.	10	1	7	4	5
					Total	74
4. Blacks and Whites should not marry.	No.	4	0	3	12	8
					Total	101
5. I would rather have Black friends than White.	No.	11	6	4	5	1
					Total	60

Table 31 (continued)

Item	Score	1	2	3	4	5
		Student Responses for Items Total Scores				
6. I wouldn't mind having a White college roommate.	No.	6	3	6	10	4
					Total	87
7. Whites should be made to get out of Black communities.	No.	4	3	2	13	
					Total	93
8. I wouldn't mind having a White person as a close friend.	No.	1	2	13	8	3
					Total	91
9. A Black who marries a White person is a traitor to his people.	No.	5	3	3	10	6
					Total	90
10. White people are not capable of being close friends with Blacks.	No.	4	5	5	8	5
					Total	86

Triville Boys

The highest possible item score for the eighteen male respondents who were Black is ninety. If all of them had checked four, the total item score would be seveny-two. The "unsure" category would yield a total score of forty-eight and the unfavorable item values of two and one would yield totals of thirty-six and eighteen.

As with the girls, the boys' scores tend to be in a middle range, indicating a spread of responses over the five choices. Like the girls, over half of the boys do not feel that White teachers are generally as fair to Black students as they are to White students, and also like the girls, over half of them responded unfavorably to items five, six, seven, ten, and eleven on Table 32. These items were: Given the opportunity, most Whites will cheat Black people. Whites have much about them that I admire. Whites are only friendly to Blacks when they want something out of them. On the whole, White people are fair and honest. Whites only accept Blacks who think and act like Whites.

The item scores for the boys are higher on the social distance table, Table 33, where over half of the responses are favorable for every item except number five, I would rather have Black friends than White. The attitudinal meaning of the scores indicate that responses to most of the items tend to be favorable toward Whites. Thus, while many of the Triville boys hold unfavorable attitudes toward Whites in terms of general stereotypes and beliefs, they are even more positive than the girls in items dealing with contact with Whites.

Table 32

Triville Boys' Responses (No.=18)
General Stereotypes and Beliefs
Attitudes Toward Whites

Item	Student Responses for Items Total Scores					
	Score	1	2	3	4	5
1. On the whole, White people are less prejudiced today than they used to be.	No.	4	4	1	9	0
					Total	51
2. Most White people say one thing and do the opposite.	No.	2	5	6	5	0
					Total	50
3. White teachers are generally as fair to Black students as they are to White.	No.	3	3	5	6	0
					Total	48
4. Most Whites can be trusted.	No.	1	5	6	6	0
					Total	53
5. Given the opportunity, most Whites will cheat Black people.	No.	2	8	1	5	0
					Total	41
6. Whites have much about them that I admire.	No.	5	8	0	5	0
					Total	41
7. Whites are only friendly to Blacks when they want something out of them.	No.	3	7	0	7	0
					Total	45

Table 32 (continued)

Item	Student Responses for Items Total Scores					
	Score	1	2	3	4	5
8. Most Whites are racists.	No.	1	4	7	6 Total	0 54
9. The world would be a better place without White people.	No.	0	1	7	9 Total	1 64
10. On the whole, White people are fair and honest.	No.	2	7	6	3 Total	0 46
11. Whites only accept Blacks who think and act like Whites.	No.	6	3	3	5 Total	1 46
12. Most Whites wish that slavery still existed.	No.	2	3	8	4 Total	1 53

Table 33

Triville Boys' Responses (No.=18)
Social Distance Items
Attitudes Toward Whites

Item	Student Responses for Items Total Scores					
	Score	1	2	3	4	5
1. Black students are better off if they stay away from their White classmates.	No.	0	1	4	4	9
					Total	75
2. Blacks and Whites should not date.	No.	0	2	4	3	9
					Total	73
3. Given the opportunity, I would date a White person.	No.	2	1	4	3	8
					Total	68
4. Blacks and Whites should not marry.	No.	0	2	3	6	7
					Total	72
5. I would rather have Black friends than White.	No.	7	4	5	1	1
					Total	39

Table 33 (continued)

Item	Student Responses for Items Total Scores Score	1	2	3	4	5
6. I wouldn't mind having a White college roommate.	No.	0	2	3	9	4
					Total	69
7. Whites should be made to get out of Black communities.	No.	0	2	6	8	2
					Total	64
8. I wouldn't mind having a White person as a close friend.	No.	0	1	3	10	4
					Total	71
9. A Black who marries a White person is a traitor to his people.	No.	0	0	4	7	7
					Total	75
10. White people are not capable of being close friends with Blacks.	No.	0	3	3	11	1
					Total	64

Liddon Girls

The highest item score for the Liddon girls would be sixty, while an individual item value of four would yield a total of forty-eight. The "unsure" category would result in a total of thirty-six and the unfavorable values of two and one would yield totals of twenty-four and twelve. Table 34 shows that scores for the Liddon girls fall into the middle ranges for items one, two, six, and nine and are unfavorable toward Whites in the remainder of the items. Ten of the twelve Liddon girls do not think that White teachers are generally as fair to Black students as they are to White, all of them felt that given the opportunity, most Whites will cheat Black people, and ten of them disagreed that on the whole, White people are fair and honest. Thus, in terms of general stereotypes and beliefs, Liddon girls tend to hold unfavorable attitudes toward Whites.

The scores are higher for the items in the social distance table, Table 35, but still fall into the middle to low ranges for the most part. Most of the Liddon girls do not object to dating and marriage between Blacks and Whites, but eight of them disagreed with the item, Given the Opportunity, I would date a White person. Only three of the girls agreed that they wouldn't mind having a White person as a close friend, while six disagreed and three were unsure. Nine out of the twelve girls felt that White people are not capable of being close friends with Blacks. Over half the girls were favorable toward Whites on items one, two, four, and seven on Table 35. These were: Black students are better off if they stay away from their White classmates. Blacks and Whites should not date. Blacks and Whites should not marry. Whites should be made to get out of Black communities. On the other hand, over half the girls were unfavorable toward Whites in their responses to items three, five, eight, and ten on the table. These were: Given the opportunity, I would date a White person. I would rather have Black friends than White. I wouldn't mind having a White person as a close friend. White people are not capable of being close friends with Blacks.

Table 34

Liddon Girls' Responses (No.=12)
General Stereotypes and Beliefs
Attitudes Toward Whites

Item	Student Responses for Items Total Scores					
	Score	1	2	3	4	5
1. On the whole, White people are less prejudiced today than they used to be.	No.	2	2	3	5	0
					Total	35
2. Most White people say one thing and do the opposite.	No.	3	2	2	2	3
					Total	36
3. White teachers are generally as fair to Black students as they are to White.	No.	4	6	2	0	0
					Total	22
4. Most Whites can be trusted.	No.	5	4	2	0	1
					Total	24
5. Given the opportunity, most Whites will cheat Black people.	No.	8	4	0	0	0
					Total	16
6. Whites have much about them that I admire.	No.	4	2	0	6	0
					Total	32
7. Whites are only friendly to Blacks when they want something out of them.	No.	5	3	2	2	0
					Total	25

Table 34 (continued)

Item	Score	1	2	3	4	5
		Student Responses for Items Total Scores				
8. Most Whites are racists.	No.	5	3	2	1	1
					Total	26
9. The world would be a better place without White people.	No.	3	1	5	1	2
					Total	34
10. On the whole, White people are fair and honest.	No.	3	7	1	0	1
					Total	25
11. Whites only accept Blacks who think and act like Whites.	No.	5	3	2	0	2
					Total	27
12. Most Whites wish that slavery still existed.	No.	5	3	4	0	0
					Total	23

Table 35

Liddon Girls' Responses (No.=12)
Social Distance Items
Attitudes Toward Whites

Item	Student Responses for Items Total Scores					
	Score	1	2	3	4	5
1. Black students are better off if they stay away from their White classmates.	No.	1	1	3	3	4
					Total	44
2. Blacks and Whites should not date.	No.	3	1	0	3	5
					Total	37
3. Given the opportunity, I would date a White person.	No.	6	2	0	2	2
					Total	28
4. Blacks and Whites should not marry.	No.	2	2	1	5	2
					Total	41
5. I would rather have Black friends than White.	No.	7	0	0	2	3
					Total	30

Table 35 (continued)

Item	Student Responses for Items Total Scores					
	Score	1	2	3	4	5
6. I wouldn't mind having a White college roommate.	No.	2	3	3	3 Total	1 34
7. Whites should be made to get out of Black communities.	No.	3	0	2	6 Total	1 38
8. I wouldn't mind having a White person as a close friend.	No.	4	2	3	3 Total	0 29
9. A Black who marries a White person is a traitor to his people.	No.	5	0	4	2 Total	1 30
10. White people are not capable of being close friends with Blacks.	No.	3	6	0	2 Total	1 28

Liddon Boys

Only eight boys represent the male Black respondents from the senior class at Liddon. The highest possible total item score would be forty, while an individual item value would yield a total of thirty-two. The other choices, descending in favorability, would yield totals of twenty-four, sixteen, and eight.

Like the Liddon girls' scores, the boys' scores tend to fall into the middle to unfavorable ranges. Medium range scores are found on seven of the items related to general stereotypes and beliefs, while unfavorable range scores are found on five of the items. Over half of the boys responded unfavorably to items two, five, and six on Table 36. These were: Most White people say one thing and do the opposite. Given the opportunity, most Whites will cheat Black people. Whites have much about them that I admire. Interestingly, three of the boys disagreed that White teachers are generally as fair to Black students as they are to White students while five checked "unsure."

Scores are higher for the social distance items on Table 37 where over half the boys responded favorably on seven of the ten items. Only on item five, I would rather have Black friends than White, were over half of the responses unfavorable toward Whites. Thus, as with all of the other groups of Black students, the Liddon boys held unfavorable stereotypes and beliefs toward Whites, but were more positive in their attitudes dealing with social contact.

Table 36

Liddon Boys' Responses (No.=8)
General Stereotypes and Beliefs
Attitudes Toward Whites

Item	Student Responses for Items Total Scores					
	Score	1	2	3	4	5
1. On the whole, White people are less prejudiced today than they used to be.	No.	1	1	4	2	0
					Total	23
2. Most White people say one thing and do the opposite.	No.	3	2	2	1	0
					Total	17
3. White teachers are generally as fair to Black students as they are to White.	No.	1	2	5	0	0
					Total	20
4. Most Whites can be trusted.	No.	1	3	3	1	0
					Total	20
5. Given the opportunity, most Whites will cheat Black people.	No.	2	3	1	2	0
					Total	19
6. Whites have much about them that I admire.	No.	3	2	0	3	0
					Total	19
7. Whites are only friendly to Blacks when they want something out of them.	No.	1	3	1	3	0
					Total	22

Table 36 (continued)

Item	Student Responses for Items Total Scores					
	Score	1	2	3	4	5
8. Most Whites are racists.	No.	2	2	1	3	0
					Total	21
9. The world would be a better place without White people.	No.	1	0	3	4	0
					Total	26
10. On the whole, White people are fair and honest.	No.	1	2	4	1	0
					Total	21
11. Whites only accept Blacks who think and act like Whites.	No.	2	3	1	2	0
					Total	19
12. Most Whites wish that slavery still existed.	No.	1	2	3	2	0
					Total	22

Table 37

Liddon Boys' Responses (No.=8)
Social Distance Items
Attitudes Toward Whites

Item	Student Responses for Items Total Scores					
	Score	1	2	3	4	5
1. Black students are better off if they stay away from their White classmates.	No.	0	0	2	3	3
					Total	33
2. Blacks and Whites should not date.	No.	2	0	1	3	2
					Total	27
3. Given the opportunity, I would date a White person.	No.	2	0	2	2	2
					Total	26
4. Blacks and Whites should not marry.	No.	1	1	2	2	2
					Total	27
5. I would rather have Black friends than White.	No.	2	3	0	3	0
					Total	20

Table 37 (continued)

Item	Student Responses for Items Total Scores					
	Score	1	2	3	4	5
6. I wouldn't mind having a White college roommate.	No.	0	1	2	3 Total	2 30
7. Whites should be made to get out of Black communities.	No.	1	1	1	4 Total	1 27
8. I wouldn't mind having a White person as a close friend.	No.	0	2	0	4 Total	2 30
9. A Black who marries a White person is a traitor to his people.	No.	0	1	0	6 Total	1 31
10. White people are not capable of being close friends with Blacks.	No.	0	0	2	6 Total	0 30

Discussion

In both Triville and Liddon, Black students' attitudes were more positive toward Whites on the social distance items than on items related to general stereotypes and beliefs. It is significant that in both of the schools, over half of the girls did not agree that White teachers are generally as fair to Black students as they are to White. Scores on many of the items fall into the middle or unfavorable range, especially for general stereotypes and beliefs. Scores on the social distance items tend to fall into the middle of favorable ranges.

Since the respondents' attitudes are thus not glaringly favorable or unfavorable for most of the items, the data do not give a real indication of whether the attitudes of the Black students might be a variable affecting the attitudes of the White students. The data is reported here only to indicate how Black students in the racially mixed settings feel about Whites as reflected in their responses to the belief statements. It is interesting to note, however, that while generally the White students are less favorable to Blacks in terms of general stereotypes and beliefs and more unfavorable in terms of social distance items, the opposite is true of the Black students. The attitudes of the boys tended to be more favorable in both Triville and Liddon. In Liddon, this is counter to the trend with the White students where the boys were much more unfavorable in their responses than the girls.

CHAPTER VIII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The problem to which this study is addressed is: What are the attitudes of White seniors toward Black Americans in three suburban high schools varying in terms of the possible interaction between Black and White students as reflected in each school's racial composition, grouping procedures, and curricular options. The study compared the attitudes of high school seniors in an all White high school with those of seniors in two racially mixed high schools. It was hoped that the study would provide some insights about the effect of intergroup contact on attitudes. However, the study also examined the implications of findings which maintain that contact alone may not break down the stereotypes between the two groups if the contact occurs in situations where status distinctions are maintained. The study thus made a distinction between an integrated setting which seeks to facilitate the positive interaction of a racially mixed student body, and a desegregated setting which is not characterized by practices aimed at fostering interaction.

The data reported in this study thus have two dimensions. The first dimension, the racial attitudes of the high school seniors, was determined through written responses to a questionnaire of belief statements. Quantitative measures were used to relate the observed variables, responses to belief statements, to the latent variable, the attitude. A Likert scale of summated ratings was employed. The data were analyzed in order to describe and compare the range of positive and negative attitudes within and among the three schools. Student responses within and among the three schools to specific items on the questionnaire were also described.

The second dimension of the data described situational characteristics within each high school which could be affecting student attitudes. These included school philosophy, grouping procedures, classroom racial balance, staff racial balance, curricular and library offerings related to the Black experience, and patterns of student interaction in the two racially mixed settings. The writer obtained these data through interviews and observations.

The data reported in this study describe the attitudes of the White seniors toward Black Americans in three suburban high schools. The total responses from each high school showed that seveny-one percent of the seniors at Triville, the integrated high school had scores reflecting favorable attitudes toward Blacks; fifty-five percent of the seniors at Glaston, the all White high school had favorable scores; and thirty-seven percent of the seniors at Liddon, the desegregated high school, had favorable scores. On the other hand, thirty-five percent of the Liddon seniors had scores reflecting unfavorable attitudes toward Blacks, thirteen percent of the Glaston seniors had unfavorable scores, and eight percent of the Triville seniors had unfavorable scores. Thus, Liddon is the school having the highest percentage of unfavorable scores, and the lowest percentage of favorable scores. At the other extreme is Triville, with the highest percentage of favorable scores, and the lowest percentage of unfavorable scores.

The data reported in this study thus reveal very different attitudinal responses from the two schools where intergroup contact between Blacks and Whites took place. Therefore, one cannot make a general statement about the effect of intergroup contact on students' racial attitudes. If one is focussing on the effect of intergroup contact on attitudes, the distinction which was made between the two racially mixed settings becomes important. The conclusions one would derive about the effect of intergroup contact on attitudes are quite different if one focusses on either Liddon or Triville as a basis of comparison. If one compares the attitudinal results of Glaston, the all White setting, to Liddon, the desegregated setting, one would have to conclude that intergroup contact was having a negative effect on the White students' attitudes.

The conclusions are far more positive if one compares Glaston to Triville, however. In this comparison, one finds a higher percentage of White students having favorable attitudes toward Blacks in the racially mixed setting than in the all White setting. Indeed, the most significant finding of this study is that over seventy percent of the White seniors in the integrated high school expressed favorable attitudes toward Blacks in their responses to the belief statements. Thus, in terms of the problem focussed on in this study, Triville is a success story.

The contrasting results obtained from the two racially mixed high schools raise questions which have profound implications for integrated education. Liddon and Triville are the two schools which are at the same time the most similar and the most different in this study. They serve neighboring communities, and the student body in each school is similar in terms of ethnic groups and economic levels. However, in terms of the attitudinal responses reported in this study, they are at the opposite extremes. Furthermore, the descriptive data also document fundamental differences in the situational variables focussed upon in this study. The writer feels that the real importance of this study lies in the questions raised, and the implications derived, from these process or situational variables.

Some of the research reported in Chapter II of this study support the possibility that variables surrounding intergroup contact might influence attitudes. In _Affective Climate and Integrated Education: A Report to the ERIC_

Clearing House on the Disadvantaged, Richard J. Kraft stated: "Most research seems to indicate that interracial contact, without guidance from teachers and positive community support, does not necessarily result in improved attitudes on the part of either Blacks or Whites."[1] Two of Kraft's major conclusions were:

> Classroom contact may bring about more positive attitudes between children of differing races, but it does not necessarily follow. The teachers and the general social climate of the school play an extremely important role in the successful changing of attitudes.
>
> The pupils must approach each other on an equal basis if racial attitudes are to be changed.[2]

McDowell pointed out that the school climate and quality of race relationships are of greater importance than the race ratio in reducing unfavorable intergroup attitudes.[3] McPartland focussed on the importance of classroom student composition rather than total school composition as a significant influence on Black students' achievement and Black and White students' attitudes.[4]

The literature on attitudes emphasized the difficulty of drawing direct cause and effect relationships.

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[1] Richard J. Kraft, *Affective Climate and Integration: A Report Presented to the ERIC Clearing House on the Disadvantaged*, ED035703, October, 1969, p. 56.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Sophia McDowell, "Prejudices and Other Interracial Attitudes of Negro Youth," (ERIC, ED019390, 1967), p. 72.

[4] James McPartland, "The Segregated Student in Desegregated Schools: Sources of Influences on Negro Secondary Students," (John Hopkins University: Center for the Study of Social Organization of Schools, 1968).

The interplay of norms and groups which influence ethnic or racial attitudes is extremely complex, and few studies have succeeded in disentangling the effects of such factors as family background, religion, socio-economic status and education. Most authors agree that attitudes are learned, are multicausally determined and are functional or need satisfying for the individual. Increasingly, however, there is a recognition of the significance of the environmental settings surrounding human behavior. Rather than dealing with the psychology of the individual or those sociological variables by which groups of individuals may be classified, Barker and his associates have worked out an ecological theory and methodology focussing on stable, extra-individual units called behavior settings.[1] These settings form the ecological environment of behavior. Sarason emphasizes such an approach to the school culture in The Culture of the School and the Problem of Change. Such an approach is also consistent with Pettigrew's thinking in A Study of School Integration: Final Report. Pettigrew cites the need to move beyond mere background variables such as education, religion, and occupational status. His study simultaneously uses ecological and opinion data to derive a contextual explanation for behavior. The ecological data included such variables as urbanism, economic prosperity, and traditionalism of the areas studied. This data provided a social context for the analysis of public opinion data on attitudes. Pettigrew views attitudes both as causes and consequences of fundamental shifts in the racial scene. Thus attitudinal change and social change form a two way causal link.[1]

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[1] Roger G. Barker, Ecological Psychology (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1968).

It was pointed out in Chapter II of this study that in the most popular theoretical conceptualizations, attitude is a mediating construct tied into socially observable reality at both ends. Antecedent conditions lead to it, and consequents follow from it. Real world complications are thus shown as interactions among antecedents or among consequents. The empirical findings of Kenneth Clark's appraisal of the evidence surrounding school desegregation throughout the United States, suggest that individuals and groups modify their behavior only to the degree and in the direction demanded by the external situation as it is perceived.[2] Moreover, Clark's data suggest that situationally determined behavioral changes generally precede any observable attitudinal changes. He concludes: "The internal determinants of behavioral changes are themselves the product of past external effects, and are subject to modifications by the continuous interaction of the organism in the situation."[1]

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[1] Thomas F. Pettigrew, A Study of School Integration: Final Report (Washington, D. C.: Bureau of Educational Research, Office of Education, 1970).

[2] Kenneth B. Clark, "Desegregation: An Appraisal of the Evidence," Journal of Social Issues, IX (1953), 76.

This study did not focus upon such variables as religion, socio-economic status, or education. It did focus upon situational variables within the different high school settings. This data provided a context for the attitudinal analysis and reflects a belief that the settings which surround behavior are highly significant. Recognizing that no simple cause and effect relationships can be drawn, the writer nevertheless feels that the questions raised by the contrasting results from Liddon and Triville necessitate an ultimate emphasis on the situational variables surrounding the attitudinal data. The important questions raised by this study are generated from the implications derived from these process and situational variables, and they point to the need for further inquiry into the ecological environments surrounding intergroup contact and integrated education. The data reported in this study strongly support the possibility that the efforts of the Triville school district to provide a highly positive environment for Black and White students had a positive effect on their attitudinal responses. The writer, therefore, will summarize and contrast the situational variables which surround the Triville results.

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[1] Ibid.

Triville, at the outset, had a philosophy reflecting a commitment to integrated education, and sought to facilitate its implementation through a racially balanced staff and heterogeneous grouping procedures. Moreover, Triville's teachers were keenly aware of the district's commitment, and consciously grappled with the many problems inherent in the task. Liddon teachers had little awareness of a school philosophy, and although most of them felt that their school was "integrated," their commentary did not reflect a conscious awareness of what the implications and manifestations of integrated education might be.

When one examines the curricular offerings related to the Black experience or to Black-White relations, the differences between the two schools are striking. The Social Studies and English Departments at Triville have carefully conceived courses and units related to the Black experience, and the text of the interviews with the teaching staff reveal sensitivity and commitment to providing an education which reflects the ethnic diversity of the student body. Triville teachers expressed a desire to provide classroom encounters which would erase stereotypes and myths. They also acknowledged the importance of classroom encounters between Black and White students.

The curricular offerings at Liddon related to the Black experience are largely unplanned, and the text of the interviews with the teachers reveals a lack of sophistication and commitment in treating these topics. Students at Triville are thus offered a curriculum which provides for the knowledge and classroom discussions which can erase stereotypes. Liddon students are not.

On several occasions in Triville, the writer witnessed classroom encounters between Black and White students where racial issues were discussed openly and frankly. During her visits at Liddon, the writer never got a sense that teachers were prepared for this kind of interaction between students. It is difficult to document the subjective kinds of impressions one gets from spending time in a school. These impressions are significant, however.

Although Black and White students socially segregate themselves in Triville, one does not sense hostility between the two groups, and one gets the definite impression of a setting where students have been provided with many positive possibilities for overcoming the negative attitudes and social barriers that have separated Blacks and Whites for generations. There is a high sense of awareness among the teachers of the enormity of their task, and their comments indicate a sensitivity to and respect for the Black students. The writer did not find this sensitivity in the conversations with staff members at Liddon. Teachers at Liddon were open and responsive to the writer, but one gets the definite impression that Black and White students are physically together in the building, but little or no effort has been made to provide for their positive interaction and mutual understanding. The racial composition of the staff, the curriculum, and the library do not reflect the Black students who attend the school each day, and neither classroom encounters nor extracurricular activities seem to offer possibilities for the Black and White students to meaningfully come together.

The data reported in this study identify the need for research designed to test the effects of variables in school settings which affect students' racial attitudes. Implications for further research focus on the effects on racial attitudes of (1) curricular offerings , (2) interracial staffing, (3) classroom encounters, (4) heterogeneous and homogeneous grouping, and (5) extracurricular interaction.

Given the history of this country, there are many moral, philosophical, and sociological issues which are raised when Black and White students are brought together or kept apart. Educators must make decisions now, and cannot wait for research to guide these decisions. The writer feels that this study has provided many insights about the scope and limitations of students' experiences in a segregated, desegregated, and integrated high school setting. The data show that the terms which were used to describe the high schools could be used to describe the type of education students are receiving in those high schools: segregated education, desegregated education, and integrated education. The final analysis of this study will thus focus on the educational implication for young people who will live in a multi-ethnic, interracial society and the questions raised by this implication.

Glaston was a White oasis where, until the recent efforts of the English Department, the curriculum gave little or no indication to the students of the Black experience in America. The writer is not suggesting that the sole purpose of education is to eradicate racial attitudes. She is questioning whether a segregated education which does not intelligently deal with a segment of the American people which has profoundly influenced the development of this country is a valid education. She is questioning whether an education which does not deal with the issues that cut deep into American society is a valid education. She is also questioning the motives of a staff which has almost totally ignored a library collection dealing with the Black experience.

Liddon was a desegregated setting in the sense that Black and White students had been physically brought together, but no efforts had been made to facilitate their mutual understanding. Students were receiving a desegregated education at Liddon. Black and White students sat together in classes, but the school's philosophy, curriculum, and staffing racial balance represent a mentality almost as segregated as Glaston. The same questions raised in Glaston could be raised in Liddon. Moreover, is an education which in almost no way reflects the Black students receiving that education a valid education? Is an education which does not facilitate the interaction of Black and White students sitting in classes together a valid education?

The descriptive data on the curricular offerings, library collection, grouping procedures, and staffing patterns at Triville provide many insights into the possible components of integrated education. These components reflect the even more fundamental requirements of awareness, sensitivity, and commitment. Again relating to the implication of providing viable educational encounters for students who must live in a multi-ethnic, interracial society, the writer will conclude with her belief in the validity of Triville's efforts to (1) integrate their curriculum, library, and staff as well as their school, (2) provide content which would comprehensively and intelligently deal with the Black experience in America, and (3) facilitate classroom encounters which would erase stereotypes and encourage mututal understanding.

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APPENDIX A

THE QUESTIONNAIRE

SOCIAL BELIEF QUESTIONNAIRE

PLEASE FILL IN: AGE____________ SEX________________

RACE____________ RELIGION____________

This survey is an effort to find out what high school students feel and think about a number of social beliefs. This is neither an intelligence test nor an information test. THERE ARE NO "RIGHT" OR "WRONG" ANSWERS. THE BEST ANSWER IS YOUR PERSONAL OPINION. You can be sure that whatever your personal belief is on a certain question, there will be many people who agree, many who disagree.

For each statement, you will be given the following choice of responses:

Strongly Agree____ Agree____ Unsure____ Disagree____ Strongly Disagree____

If you agree with a statement, put a check in the space after Agree____. Likewise, if you disagree with a statement, put a in the space after Disagree____. IF YOU FEEL VERY STRONGLY ABOUT A STATEMENT, THEN YOU WOULD PUT A AFTER EITHER Strongly Agree or Strongly Disagree. If you are unsure about how you feel about a particular statement, check the space after Unsure____.

Before you begin, these final instructions should serve as guidelines for filling out the questionnaire.

1. READ EACH STATEMENT CAREFULLY AND MARK IT ACCORDING TO YOUR FIRST REACTION. IT ISN'T NECESSARY TO TAKE A LOT OF TIME FOR ANY ONE QUESTION.
2. ANSWER EVERY QUESTION
3. GIVE YOUR PERSONAL POINT OF VIEW
4. BE AS SINCERE AND HONEST AS POSSIBLE

1. If we don't punish criminals, we will have more crime.
   Strongly Agree____ Agree____ Unsure____ Disagree____ Strongly Disagree____

2. Blacks are generally worse off than Whites because they lack the ability to get ahead.
   Strongly Agree____ Agree____ Unsure____ Disagree____ Strongly Disagree____

3. On the whole, White people are less prejudiced today than they used to be.
   Strongly Agree____ Agree____ Unsure____ Disagree____ Strongly Disagree____

4. A hungry man has the right to steal.
   Strongly Agree___ Agree____ Unsure____ Disagree____ Strongly Disagree____

5. Blacks keep up their homes as much as anyone else.
   Strongly Agree____ Agree____ Unsure____ Disagree____ Strongly Disagree____

6. Women as well as men should be drafted.
   Strongly Agree____ Agree____ Unsure____ Disagree____ Strongly Disagree____

7. Most White people say one thing and do the opposite.
   Strongly Agree____ Agree____ Unsure____ Disagree____ Strongly Disagree____

8. Both Whites and Blacks benefit from integrated neighborhoods.
   Strongly Agree____ Agree____ Unsure____ Disagree____ Strongly Disagree____

9. It is important that the United States keep up the arms race with the Soviet Union.
   Strongly Agree____ Agree____ Unsure____ Disagree____ Strongly Disagree____

10. Black students are as intellectually capable as White students.
    Strongly Agree____ Agree____ Unsure____ Disagree____ Strongly Disagree___

11. A jail sentence cures many criminals.
Strongly Strongly
Agree____ Agree____ Unsure____ Disagree____ Disagree____

12. White teachers are generally as fair to Black students as they are to White.
Strongly Strongly
Agree____ Agree____ Unsure____ Disagree____ Disagree____

13. It is wrong to use the death penalty.
Strongly Strongly
Agree____ Agree____ Unsure____ Disagree____ Disagree____

14. A woman should not have to give up her name at marriage.
Strongly Strongly
Agree____ Agree____ Unsure____ Disagree____ Disagree____

15. Generally speaking, Black students don't make an effort to learn in school.
Strongly Strongly
Agree____ Agree____ Unsure____ Disagree____ Disagree____

16. Pollution can't be avoided in an industrial society.
Strongly Strongly
Agree____ Agree____Unsure____ Disagree____ Disagree____

17. Black students are better off if they stay away from their White classmates.
Strongly Strongly
Agree____ Agree____ Unsure____ Disagree____ Disagree____

18. Severe government action should be taken against companies which pollute the environment.
Strongly Strongly
Agree____ Agree____ Unsure____ Disagree____ Disagree____

19. Blacks and Whites should not date.
Strongly Strongly
Agree____ Agree____ Unsure____ Disagree____ Disagree____

20. Prisoners riot because of criminal instincts.
Strongly Strongly
Agree____ Agree____ Unsure____ Disagree____ Disagree____

21. Most Whites can be trusted.
Strongly Agree____ Agree____ Unsure____ Disagree____ Strongly Disagree____

22. Blacks and Whites tend to run nice neighborhoods down.
Strongly Agree____ Agree____ Unsure____ Disagree____ Strongly Disagree____

23. Radical criticism against the government shouldn't be allowed.
Strongly Agree____ Agree____ Unsure____ Disagree____ Strongly Disagree____

24. Those who refuse to fight for their country are cowards.
Strongly Agree____ Agree____ Unsure____ Disagree____ Strongly Disagree____

25. Given the opportunity, I would date a Black person.
Strongly Agree____ Agree____ Unsure____ Disagree____ Strongly Disagree____

26. Given the opportunity, I would date a White person.
Strongly Agree____ Agree____ Unsure____ Disagree____ Strongly Disagree____

27. On the whole, wars do the world some good.
Strongly Agree____ Agree____ Unsure____ Disagree____ Strongly Disagree____

28. Censorship can never be justified in a free country.
Strongly Agree____ Agree____ Unsure____ Disagree____ Strongly Disagree____

29. War is not necessary in a modern world.
Strongly Agree____ Agree____ Unsure____ Disagree____ Strongly Disagree____

30. White people have a right to keep Blacks out of their neighborhoods.
Strongly Agree____ Agree____ Unsure____ Disagree____ Strongly Disagree____

31. Plays and movies should be censored.
Strongly Strongly
Agree____ Agree____ Unsure____ Disagree____ Disagree____

32. White students benefit from integrated classes.
Strongly Strongly
Agree____ Agree____ Unsure____ Disagree____ Disagree____

33. War is often the best means of preserving national honor.
Strongly Strongly
Agree____ Agree____ Unsure____ Disagree____ Disagree____

34. Given the opportunity, most Whites will cheat Black people.
Strongly Strongly
Agree____ Agree____ Unsure____ Disagree____ Disagree____

35. Prison life cures many criminals.
Strongly Strongly
Agree____ Agree____ Unsure____ Disagree____ Disagree____

36. Black students have a negative effect on the quality of a school.
Strongly Strongly
Agree____ Agree____ Unsure____ Disagree____ Disagree____

37. Under some conditions, war is necessary to maintain justice.
Strongly Strongly
Agree____ Agree____ Unsure____ Disagree____ Disagree____

38. Whites have much about them that I admire.
Strongly Strongly
Agree____ Agree____ Unsure____ Disagree____ Disagree____

39. Prisoners riot because of brutal living conditions.
Strongly Strongly
Agree____ Agree____ Unsure____ Disagree____ Disagree____

40. I wouldn't mind having a Black family doctor.
Strongly Strongly
Agree____ Agree____ Unsure____ Disagree____ Disagree____

41. Woman are unsuited for most top level jobs.
Strongly Strongly
Agree____ Agree____ Unsure____ Disagree____ Disagree____

42. Blacks and Whites should not marry.
Strongly Strongly
Agree____ Agree____ Unsure____ Disagree____ Disagree____

43. I would rather be called a coward than go to war.
Strongly Strongly
Agree____ Agree____ Unsure____ Disagree____ Disagree____

44. White people are only friendly to Blacks when they want something out of them.
Strongly Strongly
Agree____ Agree____ Unsure____ Disagree____ Disagree____

45. I believe in the slogan "My country, right or wrong."
Strongly Strongly
Agree____ Agree____ Unsure____ Disagree____ Disagree____

46. Most of the problems facing Black people today are caused by the Blacks themselves.
Strongly Strongly
Agree____ Agree____ Unsure____ Disagree____ Disagree____

47. Whites and Blacks should live in separate neighborhoods.
Strongly Strongly
Agree____ Agree____ Unsure____ Disagree____ Disagree___

48. Marriage is necessary for a man and woman to have a lasting relationship.
Strongly Strongly
Agree____ Agree____ Unsure____ Disagree____ Disagree____

49. Most Whites are racists.
Strongly Strongly
Agree____ Agree____ Unsure____ Disagree____ Disagree____

50. Men who break the law must be punished.
Strongly Strongly
Agree____ Agree____ Unsure____ Disagree____ Disagree____

51. On the whole, Blacks tend to be lazy.

Strongly Agree____ Agree____ Unsure____ Disagree____ Strongly Disagree____

52. The threat of Communism abroad is more important than such issues as the economy, poverty, or the environment.

Strongly Agree____ Agree____ Unsure____ Disagree____ Strongly Disagree____

53. On the whole, Blacks have less ambition than Whites.

Strongly Agree____ Agree____ Unsure____ Disagree____ Strongly Disagree____

54. I would fight for my country even if I felt it were an unjust war.

Strongly Agree____ Agree____ Unsure____ Disagree____ Strongly Disagree____

55. It is as desirable to have Black families for neighbors as anyone else.

Strongly Agree____ Agree____ Unsure____ Disagree____ Strongly Disagree____

56. Women have a right to compete with men equally in all types of jobs.

Strongly Agree____ Agree____ Unsure____ Disagree____ Strongly Disagree____

57. Most unemployed Blacks just don't want to work.

Strongly Agree____ Agree____ Unsure___ Disagree____ Strongly Disagree____

58. I do not approve of establishing close relations with Communist China.

Strongly Agree____ Agree____ Unsure____ Disagree____ Strongly Disagree____

59. I would not want Black families to move into my neighborhood.

Strongly Agree____ Agree____ Unsure____ Disagree____ Strongly Disagree____

60. I would rather have Black friends than White.

Strongly Agree____ Agree____ Unsure____ Disagree____ Strongly Disagree____

61. I would like to live in a commune.
Strongly Agree____ Agree____ Unsure____ Disagree____ Strongly Disagree____

62. A Black man should not be President of the United States.
Strongly Agree____ Agree____ Unsure____ Disagree____ Strongly Disagree____

63. Harsh punishment makes worse criminals of men.
Strongly Agree____ Agree____ Unsure____ Disagree____ Strongly Disagree____

64. By nature, Blacks are not suited for most top level jobs.
Strongly Agree____ Agree____ Unsure____ Disagree____ Strongly Disagree____

65. Censoring books, movies, and plays is necessary for national morality.
Strongly Agree____ Agree____ Unsure____ Disagree____ Strongly Disagree____

66. I would not hire a person who had been in prison.
Strongly Agree______Agree____ Unsure____ Disagree____ Strongly Disagree____

67. Most Blacks are disorderly in conduct.
Strongly Agree____ Agree____ Unsure___ Disagree____ Strongly Disagree____

68. I wouldn't mind having a female family doctor.
Strongly Agree____ Agree____ Unsure____ Disagree____ Strongly Disagree____

69. Girls should be given as much freedom as boys.
Strongly Agree____ Agree____ Unsure____ Disagree____ Strongly Disagree____

70. The world would be a better place without White people.
Strongly Agree____ Agree____ Unsure____ Disagree____ Strongly Disagree____

71. I wouldn't mind having a Black college roommate.
Strongly Agree____ Agree____ Unsure____ Disagree____ Strongly Disagree____

72. There is no such thing as a just war.
Strongly Agree____ Agree____ Unsure____ Disagree____ Strongly Disagree____

73. I would rather have White friends than Black.
Strongly Agree____ Agree____ Unsure____ Disagree____ Strongly Disagree____

74. If I were a landlord, I would rent to Blacks.
Strongly Agree____ Agree____ Unsure____ Disagree____ Strongly Disagree____

75. It is immoral for a man and woman to live together without being married.
Strongly Agree____ Agree____ Unsure____ Disagree____ Strongly Disagree____

76. I wouldn't mind having a White college roommate.
Strongly Agree____ Agree____ Unsure____ Disagree____ Strongly Disagree____

77. A woman finds her true fulfillment in raising a family.
Strongly Agree____ Agree____ Unsure____ Disagree____ Strongly Disagree____

78. On the whole, White people are fair and honest.
Strongly Agree____ Agree____ Unsure____ Disagree____ Strongly Disagree____

79. Blacks have much about them that I admire.
Strongly Agree____ Agree____ Unsure____ Disagree____ Strongly Disagree____

80. It is our duty to fight in a defensive war.
Strongly Agree____ Agree____ Unsure____ Disagree____ Strongly Disagree____

81. I wouldn't mind having a Black person as a close friend.
Strongly Agree____ Agree____ Unsure____ Disagree____ Strongly Disagree____

82. Whites should be made to get out of Black communities.
Strongly Agree____ Agree____ Unsure____ Disagree____ Strongly Disagree____

83. I would not hire a person who had been mentally ill.
Strongly Agree____ Agree____ Unsure____ Disagree____ Strongly Disagree____

84. I wouldn't mind having a White person as a close friend.
Strongly Agree____ Agree____ Unsure____ Disagree____ Strongly Disagree____

85. Women do not belong in politics.
Strongly Agree____ Agree____ Unsure____ Disagree____ Strongly Disagree____

86. Blacks are as intelligent as Whites.
Strongly Agree____ Agree____ Unsure____ Disagree____ Strongly Disagree____

87. Anything should be allowed in movies and plays.
Strongly Agree____ Agree____ Unsure____ Disagree____ Strongly Disagree____

88. Radical criticism should be welcomed in a free country.
Strongly Agree____ Agree____ Unsure____ Disagree____ Strongly Disagree____

89. Whites only accept Blacks who think and act like Whites.
Strongly Agree____ Agree____ Unsure____ Disagree____ Strongly Disagree____

90. A nation should always be ready to fight.
Strongly Agree____ Agree____ Unsure____ Disagree____ Strongly Disagree____

91. Most Whites wish that slavery still existed.
Strongly Strongly
Agree____ Agree____ Unsure____ Disagree____ Disagree____

92. The government has a right to censor the press.
Strongly Strongly
Agree____ Agree____ Unsure____ Disagree____ Disagree____

93. A Black who marries a White person is a traitor to his people.
Strongly Strongly
Agree____ Agree____ Unsure____ Disagree____ Disagree____

94. A large army and navy are necessary for the proper defense of our country.
Strongly Strongly
Agree____ Agree____ Unsure____ Disagree____ Disagree____

95. Most elected politicians are honest.
Strongly Strongly
Agree____ Agree____ Unsure____ Disagree____ Disagree____

96. White people are not capable of being close friends with Blacks.
Strongly Strongly
Agree____ Agree____ Unsure____ Disagree____ Disagree____

97. No punishment can reduce crime.
Strongly Strongly
Agree____ Agree____ Unsure____ Disagree____ Disagree____

98. The United States must protect weaker nations.
Strongly Strongly
Agree____ Agree____ Unsure____ Disagree____ Disagree____

99. Blacks should have their own separate nation in America.
Strongly Strongly
Agree____ Agree____ Unsure____ Disagree____ Disagree____

100. I am proud to be an American.
Strongly Strongly
Agree____ Agree____ Unsure____ Disagree____ Disagree____

APPENDIX B

FORMS FOR FAVORABILITY RATINGS

On the following pages are thirty-four statements or beliefs about Black Americans. Please indicate how favorable or unfavorable you feel each statement is toward Blacks by circling a point on a seven point continuum:

Extremely Favorable			Neutral			Extremely Unfavorable
7	6	5	4	3	2	1

If you feel a statement is favorable, circle either a 7, 6, or 5 depending upon how favorable you think the statement is. Likewise, if you feel a statement is unfavorable, you would circle either a 1, 2, or 3. If you feel is statement is neutral, circle the 4. You are not being asked whether you agree or disagree with the statements, but to rate their degree of favorableness toward Blacks.

1. The law should be used against employers who discriminate against Blacks.

Extremely Favorable   Neutral   Extremely Unfavorable

7 6 5 4 3 2 1

2. If I were in charge of hiring people, I would hire Whites over Blacks.

Extremely Favorable   Neutral   Extremely Unfavorable

7 6 5 4 3 2 1

3. On the whole, Blacks are unreliable workers.

Extremely Favorable   Neutral   Extremely Unfavorable

7 6 5 4 3 2 1

4. White unions prevent many Blacks from getting good jobs.

Extremely Favorable   Neutral   Extremely Unfavorable

7 6 5 4 3 2 1

5. Employers should be allowed to hire whomever they please.

Extremely Favorable   Neutral   Extremely Unfavorable

7 6 5 4 3 2 1

6. Blacks have limited opportunities to get ahead in this country.

Extremely Favorable   Neutral   Extremely Unfavorable

7 6 5 4 3 2 1

7. Most unemployed Blacks just don't want to work.

Extremely Favorable   Neutral   Extremely Unfavorable

7 6 5 4 3 2 1

8. Blacks should be allowed to live where they please.

Extremely Favorable   Neutral   Extremely Unfavorable

7 6 5 4 3 2 1

9. White real estate agents prevent many Blacks from living in better neighborhoods.

Extremely Favorable			Neutral			Extremely Unfavorable
7	6	5	4	3	2	1

10. If I were a landlord, I would rent to Blacks.

Extremely Favorable			Neutral			Extremely Unfavorable
7	6	5	4	3	2	1

11. White people have a right to keep Blacks out of their neighborhoods.

Extremely Favorable			Neutral			Extremely Unfavorable
7	6	5	4	3	2	1

12. Both Black and White students benefit from integrated classes.

Extremely Favorable			Neutral			Extremely Unfavorable
7	6	5	4	3	2	1

13. Black students have a negative effect on the quality of a school.

Extremely Favorable			Neutral			Extremely Unfavorable
7	6	5	4	3	2	1

14. If a Black man were the better candidate for a political office, I would vote for him.

Extremely Favorable			Neutral			Extremely Unfavorable
7	6	5	4	3	2	1

15. A Black man should not be President of the United States.

Extremely Favorable			Neutral			Extremely Unfavorable
7	6	5	4	3	2	1

16. Both Whites and Blacks benefit from integrated neighborhoods.

Extremely Favorable			Neutral			Extremely Unfavorable
7	6	5	4	3	2	1

17. Whites and Blacks should live in separate neighborhoods.

Extremely Favorable — Neutral — Extremely Unfavorable

7 6 5 4 3 2 1

18. Generally speaking, Black students don't make an effort to learn in school.

Extremely Favorable — Neutral — Extremely Unfavorable

7 6 5 4 3 2 1

19. Black students are as intellectually capable as White students.

Extremely Favorable — Neutral — Extremely Unfavorable

7 6 5 4 3 2 1

20. Blacks are generally worse off than Whites because they lack the ability to get ahead.

Extremely Favorable — Neutral — Extremely Unfavorable

7 6 5 4 3 2 1

21. Blacks keep up their homes as much as anyone else.

Extremely Favorable — Neutral — Extremely Unfavorable

7 6 5 4 3 2 1

22. Most of the problems facing Black people today are caused by the Blacks themselves.

Extremely Favorable — Neutral — Extremely Unfavorable

7 6 5 4 3 2 1

23. On the whole, Blacks have less ambition than Whites.

Extremely Favorable — Neutral — Extremely Unfavorable

7 6 5 4 3 2 1

24. Blacks are just as intelligent as Whites.

Extremely Favorable — Neutral — Extremely Unfavorable

7 6 5 4 3 2 1

25. In choosing friends, I prefer Whites over Blacks.
Extremely Favorable — Neutral — Extremely Unfavorable
7 6 5 4 3 2 1

26. It is as desirable to have Black families for neighbors as anyone else.
Extremely Favorable — Neutral — Extremely Unfavorable
7 6 5 4 3 2 1

27. Blacks and Whites should not date.
Extremely Favorable — Neutral — Extremely Unfavorable
7 6 5 4 3 2 1

28. I wouldn't mind having a Black family doctor.
Extremely Favorable — Neutral — Extremely Unfavorable
7 6 5 4 3 2 1

29. Givem the opportunity, I would date a Black person.
Extremely Favorable — Neutral — Extremely Unfavorable
7 6 5 4 3 2 1

30. I would not want Black families to move into my neighborhood.
Extremely Favorable — Neutral — Extremely Unfavorable
7 6 5 4 3 2 1

31. Blacks and Whites should not marry.
Extremely Favorable — Neutral — Extremely Unfavorable
7 6 5 4 3 2 1

32. I wouldn't mind having a Black college roommate.
Extremely Favorable — Neutral — Extremely Unfavorable
7 6 5 4 3 2 1

33. Qualified Blacks have had as much chance as qualified Whites to get jobs.
Extremely Favorable — Neutral — Extremely Favorable
7 6 5 4 3 2 1

34. Blacks tend to run nice neighborhoods down.

Extremely Favorable | Neutral | Extremely Unfavorable

7 6 5 4 3 2 1

On the following pages are twenty-five statements representing feelings about White epople. Please indicate how favorable or unfavorable you feel each statement is towrad Whites by circling a point on a seven point continuum:

Extremely Favorable			Neutral			Extremely Unfavorable
7	6	5	4	3	2	1

If you feel a statement is favorable, circle either a 7, 6, or 5 depending upon how favorable you think the statement is. Likewise, if you feel a statement is unfavorable, you would circle either a 1, 2, or 3. If you feel a statement is neutral, circle the 4. You are not being asked whether you agree with the statements or not, but to rate their degree of favorableness toward Whites.

1. On the whole, White people say one thing and do the opposite.

Extremely Favorable — Neutral — Extremely Unfavorable

7 6 5 4 3 2 1

2. Blacks and Whites should not date.

Extremely Favorable — Neutral — Extremely Unfavorable

7 6 5 4 3 2 1

3. I wouldn't mind having a White college roommate.

Extremely Favorable — Neutral — Extremely Unfavorable

7 6 5 4 3 2 1

4. Most Whites are racists.

Extremely Favorable — Neutral — Extremely Unfavorable

7 6 5 4 3 2 1

5. White people are less prejudiced today than they used to be.

Extremely Favorable — Neutral — Extremely Unfavorable

7 6 5 4 3 2 1

6. Given the opportunity, I would date a White person.

Extremely Favorable — Neutral — Extremely Unfavorable

7 6 5 4 3 2 1

7. Black students are better off if they stay away from their White classmates.

Extremely Favorable — Neutral — Extremely Unfavorable

7 6 5 4 3 2 1

8. I would rather have Black friends than White.
Extremely Favorable | Neutral | Extremely Unfavorable
7 6 5 4 3 2 1

9. White teachers are generally as fair to Black students as they are to White.
Extremely Favorable | Neutral | Extremely Unfavorable
7 6 5 4 3 2 1

10. Most Whites can be trusted.
Extremely Favorable | Neutral | Extremely Unfavorable
7 6 5 4 3 2 1

11. Most Whites don't want to associate with Blacks.
Extremely Favorable | Neutral | Extremely Unfavorable
7 6 5 4 3 2 1

12. I wouldn't mind having a White person as a close friend.
Extremely Favorable | Neutral | Extremely Unfavorable
7 6 5 4 3 2 1

13. Blacks should have their own separate nation in America.
Extremely Favorable | Neutral | Extremely Unfavorable
7 6 5 4 3 2 1

14. Given the opportunity, most Whites will cheat Black people.
Extremely Favorable | Neutral | Extremely Unfavorable
7 6 5 4 3 2 1

15. The world would be a better place without White people.
Extremely Favorable — Neutral — Extremely Unfavorable
7 6 5 4 3 2 1

16. Blacks and Whites should not marry.
Extremely Favorable — Neutral — Extremely Unfavorable
7 6 5 4 3 2 1

17. Whites have nothing about them I admire.
Extremely Favorable — Neutral — Extremely Unfavorable
7 6 5 4 3 2 1

18. On the whole, White people are fair and honest.
Extremely Favorable — Neutral — Extremely Unfavorable
7 6 5 4 3 2 1

19. A Black who marries a White is a traitor to his people.
Extremely Favorable — Neutral — Extremely Unfavorable
7 6 5 4 3 2 1

20. White people are only friendly to Blacks when they want something out of them.
Extremely Favorable — Neutral — Extremely Unfavorable
7 6 5 4 3 2 1

21. Whites should be made to get out of Black communities.
Extremely Favorable — Neutral — Extremely Unfavorable
7 6 5 4 3 2 1

22. Most Whites wish that slavery still existed.

Extremely Favorable			Neutral			Extremely Unfavorable
7	6	5	4	3	2	1

23. Whites only accept Blacks who think and act like Whites.

Extremely Favorable			Neutral			Extremely Unfavorable
7	6	5	4	3	2	1

24. Blacks and Whites are treated equally by White law officers.

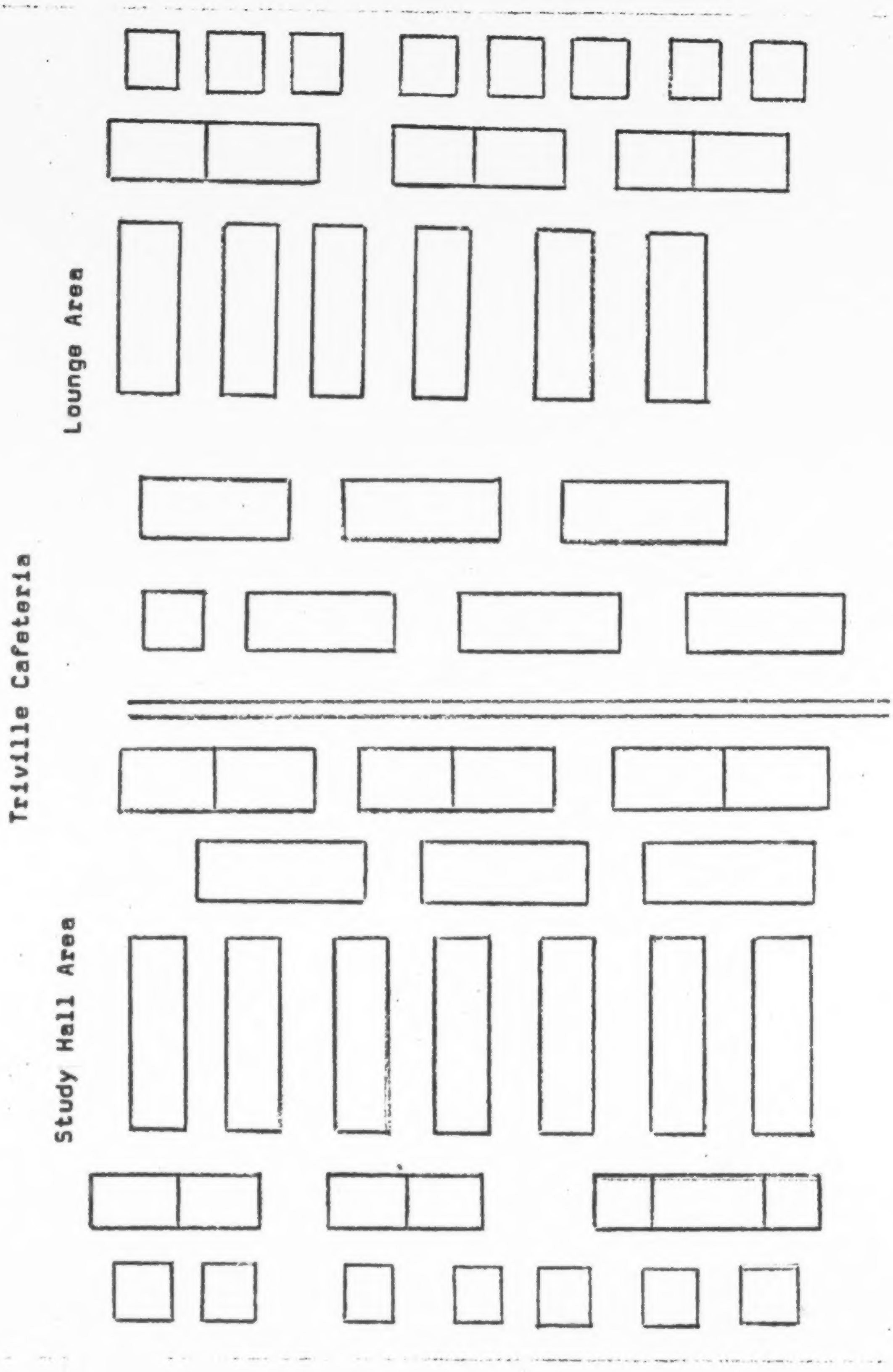
Extremely Favorable			Neutral			Extremely Unfavorable
7	6	5	4	3	2	1

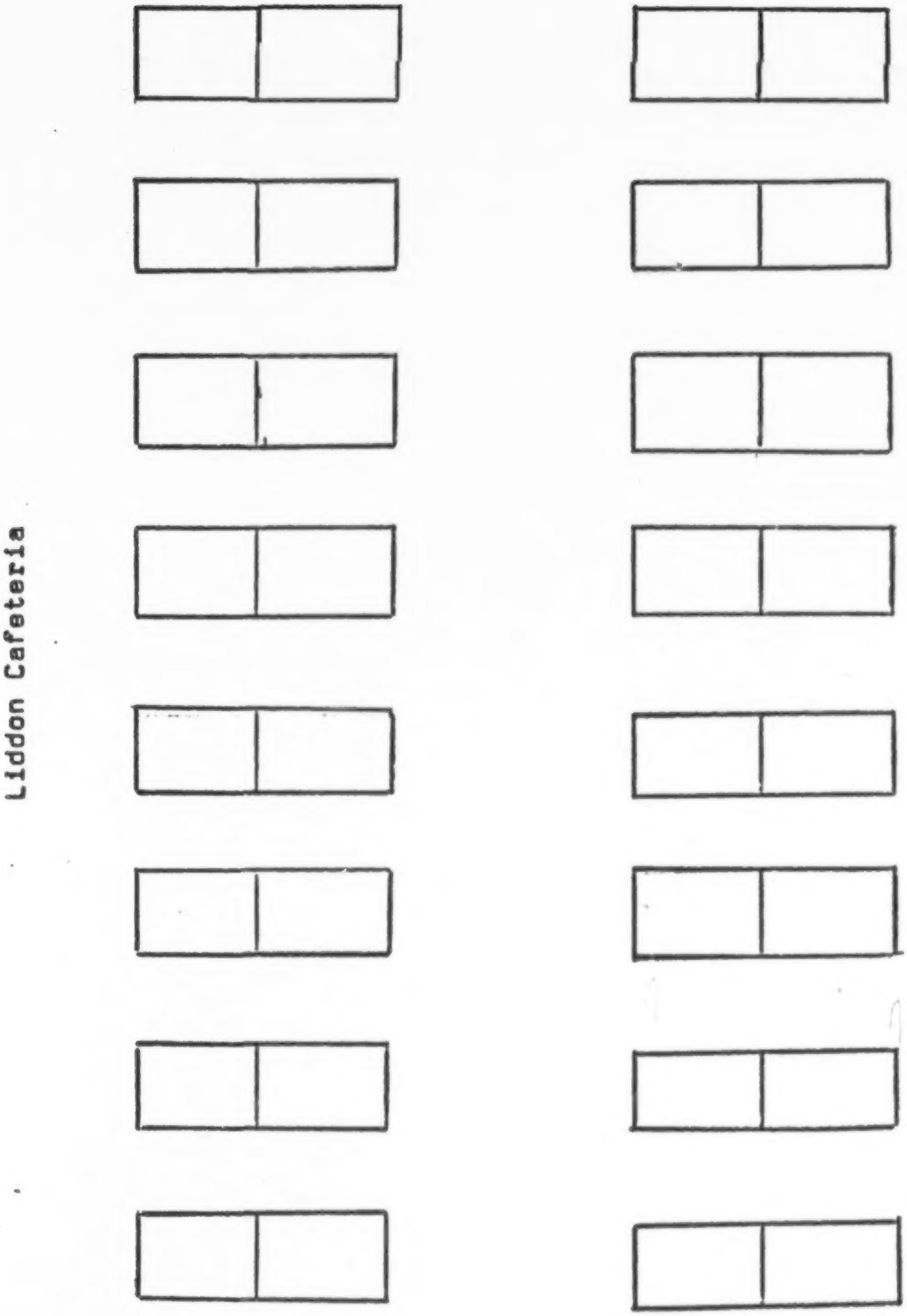
25. White people are not capable of being close friends with Blacks.

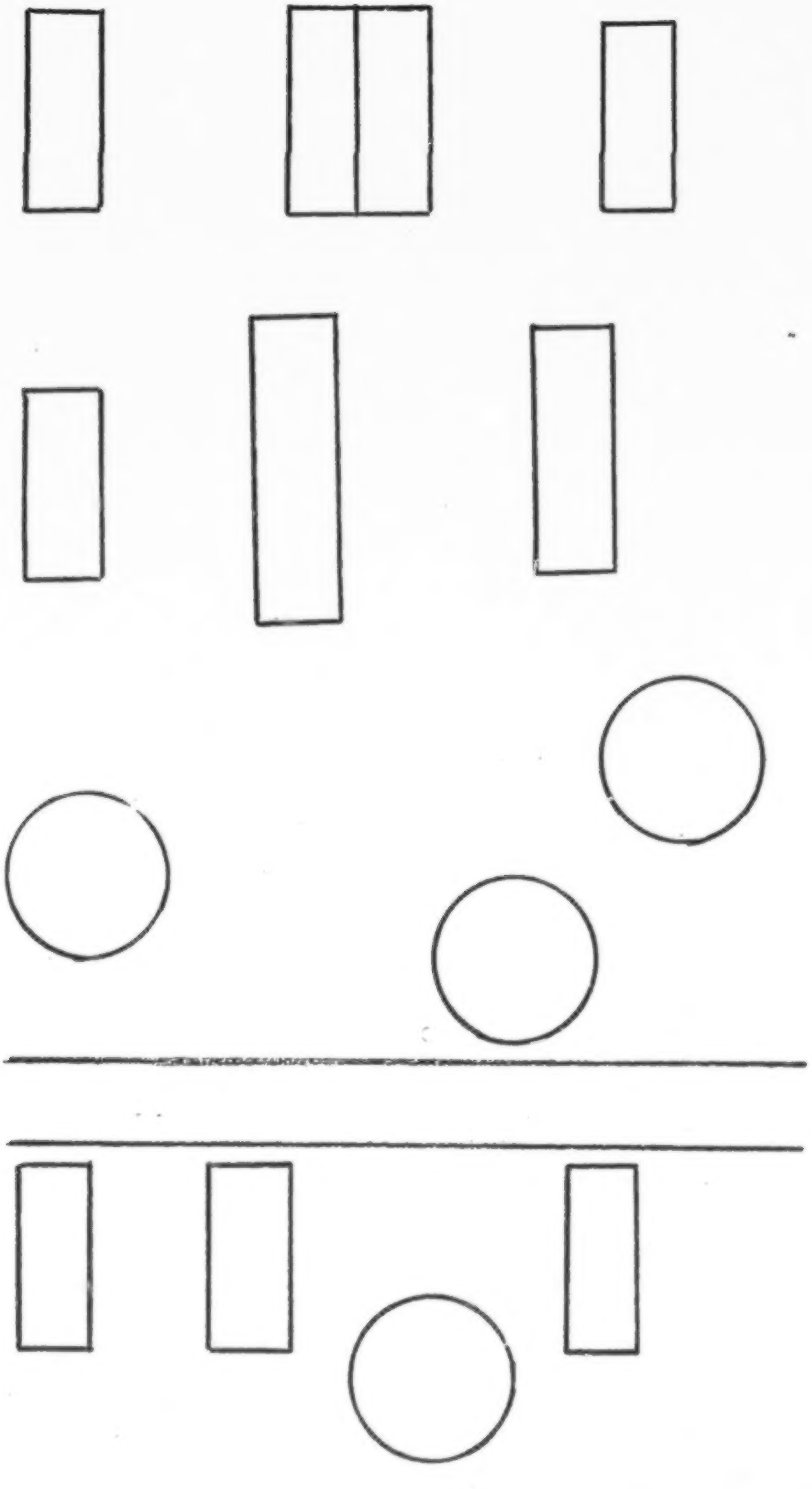
Extremely Favorable			Neutral			Extremely Unfavorable
7	6	5	4	3	2	1

APPENDIX C

DIAGRAMS OF STUDENT GROUPINGS


Triville Cafeteria
Lounge Area
Study Hall Area


Liddon Cafeteria



Triville Library

Liddon Library